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The Public's Part in Administration

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*[Paper discussed at the London Conference of the Institute,
11th and 12th February, 1939]*

THE civil servant has always had a pathetic faith in the official minute, the official pronouncement and the official pamphlet. The more official the phraseology, the greater his faith in the efficacy of these signs of departmental activity. In the more spacious days of old his faith may have been justified. To-day, the printing presses pour out torrents of more or less useful literature on every conceivable subject: the postman deposits an ever-increasing number of letters and circulars on the doormat every morning; the wireless provides an audible background to what should be the quietude of our leisure hours; propaganda on behalf of everyone and everything is rampant. Amid these distractions, fighting for the attention of a world almost bewildered by the complexity of the problems confronting it—a world, moreover, taught to think that the appeal presented with the maximum of showmanship must be the most important—stodgy official leaflets stand precious little chance of notice. That this has been recognised is proved by the comparatively recent setting up and the rapid growth of publicity organisations within the Civil Service. These have proved their worth. They have brought traditionally aloof departments much closer to the public and they have also brought about a better understanding of the problems of government and public service. In so doing they have removed misconceptions, reduced hostility and awakened a consciousness of the political and social machinery of the country. They are the oil, but they are not at all oily. They are charged to be active in

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informing; to be educative and so to remove fear and doubt and thereby secure co-operation from the public to whom they address themselves.

In those departments usually described as trading departments, most of the instruments of publicity have been and are being used. Posters, leaflets, newspapers, photographs, films, lectures, exhibitions and shop window displays have all played their part in building that prestige without which co-operation is most difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. But, although I have claimed success for the publicity organisations in the Civil Service, it should not be assumed that complete success has yet been achieved. In fact, I hesitate to describe it as anything more than encouraging. But it is encouraging; sufficiently so to incite those engaged in these organisations to ask themselves whether adequate consideration has been given to the problem which is the subject of this paper. Let me make the question clear. It is not unfair, I think, to suggest that commercially-directed advertising in the past has made "publicity" suspect in the public mind. Years of blatant advertising exhibiting the hall-mark of half truths—framed to advance particular interests, has aroused an instinct to look for the "catch" in all publicity, and so long as that frame of mind persists co-operation on the part of the public will not be forthcoming.

To eradicate this suspicion has been difficult, but it is being accomplished. "Propaganda" is the instrument which has been and is being used for the purpose. Now, propaganda has basically a rather unpleasant significance, perhaps, but in its present-day usage it merely connotes "education." A subtle form of publicity, maybe, but nevertheless an effective one, because instead of shouting in the market place it couches its message in terms of sweet reasonableness. And once you induce the public to reason with you, you are well on the way to securing its co-operation.

"Let passengers off the car first!" "Why should I?" is the first reaction of the man in the street to that injunction, and not until he can be convinced that by rushing the doors he is not only committing an anti-social act but is also acting adversely to his own interests, will he accord that measure of co-operation which he is asked to give. Modern publicity—when not applied to strictly commercial competitive ends—is being directed more and more steadily along these lines. With sufficient energy, ample supplies of money and a fertility of ideas, anything can be made known. The more interesting the presentation of the information can be made the better its effect will be. But while our complex civilisation demands a rapid and continuous dissemination of knowledge and ideas there is a vast difference between the circulation of these and

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the securing of a co-operative effort to achieve the desired result. In short, it is fatally easy to inform without rousing any resulting urge to act.

I assume that the value and importance of public relations activity is not questioned. That being so, I do not intend to discuss the merits, in practice and theory of the various instruments of Public Relations. But I must in passing say that I have for some time noticed a growing tendency to return to that pathetic faith in the very official leaflet and the unimaginatively-produced pamphlet, printed though it may be in unexceptional type, as the sole means of achieving every objective. I do not underestimate the power of print: what I fear is an over-estimation of its efficacy. Startling is the thought that while most of us engaged in the public services are wise enough to know that a few words on the telephone are often more fruitful than pages of typewritten foolscap, and that personal contact is a thousand times better than either the printed or written message, we still cling to the belief that when a leaflet has been issued to the public all that man can do has been done. In effect we are guilty of failing to recognise that the citizen is not so interested in a statement of our problems as to become wildly excited over them, unless their presentation has been to some extent dramatised. Dramatisation influences the emotions; and an emotional appeal, in its immediate results, is much more effective than one based on logic alone. But results obtained through emotions are transitory: permanent results can only be secured by a clear and candid exposition of facts. The man is as inquisitive as the child about matters affecting his own interests, and it should be recognised that just as it is folly to deceive the young, it is equally harmful if information be withheld from the adult. My experience, and I am sure this is the experience of most people, is that the best way to ensure sympathetic understanding is to be frank. For example, a candid exposition, not only by newspaper advertising, leaflets and films, but more importantly by the extended use of personal contact through the medium of an increased staff of representatives, has resulted in the creation of a more intelligent understanding by the public of the problems of the Post Office telephone service and its basis of charging, and with the appreciation of those problems has come a marked diminution in the volume of ill-informed criticism directed against the service.

But a reduction in the volume of criticism does not necessarily bring about greater co-operation. To be successful, a telephone call involves co-operation between three parties, the caller, the telephone operator and the person being called. Here we have an excellent test of Post Office propaganda work. Has there, in fact, been any

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increase in co-operation by the public? So far as the caller is concerned there has been an improvement. His irregularities have decreased; dialling mistakes are fewer and "flashing" the operator is not as popular as it was. A decrease in the number of "No Reply" answers is recorded and fewer calls are being prematurely abandoned. Most significant of all, however, is the increase in speed of answering the telephone bell. At 6.2 seconds it is the best figure for four years. One cannot avoid remarking here that excellent as the results of personal contact have proved, some credit must also be given to a service which has now largely abandoned the type of letter which starts "I must point out that unless you return the form duly completed within the next few days it will unfortunately be necessary, etc." Phraseology of that kind defeats its object. It may, by its threatening tone, make the recipient act as desired but his action will be the result of a threat to exert power rather than through a desire to co-operate. Moreover, it will, in all probability, leave him in a resentful mood.

The police come into very close contact with the public and would appear to have little to learn about how to deal with them. With the development of the internal combustion engine, however, came a renaissance of our roads and with it new problems of control and regulation. At first, and as usual, repression was the only thing thought of, but that unhelpfulness gave way before the tremendous impact of the automobile. That impact, in more senses than one, produced regulations by the score, and with them increased resentment—and approval. The country divided itself into two hostile sections with the police endeavouring to enforce laws thought to be too lax by the one side and almost ignored by the other. Here, indeed, was a problem. Ultimately, it became imperative to secure at least a measure of co-operation. The motorist complained that he was being regulated and persecuted out of existence: the pedestrian that he was being sacrificed. The hundred and one regulations were codified and, as might have been expected, a leaflet was issued. That leaflet, or booklet, found its way into every home in the country. Pedestrian crossings were instituted. The motorist, not very clear about what was expected of him, carried on much as before: the pedestrian dared not use the crossings because he lacked faith in the motorist and could not believe in the inviolability of the strip of street between the glistening studs. In any event, he could still cross just where he liked. Road accidents continued to increase in number. The public were stupefied: the police practically helpless in the face of a situation created by pedestrian timidity and recklessness and the ubiquity and ever-increasing speed of the motor vehicle. Prosecutions by the hundred thousand proceeded side by side with

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deaths and injuries in almost equal numbers. That was, and to some extent still is the situation. But an experimental "Safety Force" of the Lancashire police provides a ray of hope that something can be done to obtain co-operation from at least one side. This force consists of some 300 men, 92 cars and 50 lightweight motor cycles. The cycles are used primarily to convey individual officers from one danger point to another and for controlling really dense traffic. At first, the patrol cars were distributed over the whole area and the results were negligible. Briefly, the methods now employed are to concentrate upon areas where the accident record is bad and to have a floating unit of 25 vehicles and 50 men operating in small units of from one to six cars on any road in the county. The work is directed by a headquarters intelligence system. Prosecution does not automatically follow police intervention: advice, instruction and admonitions are employed according to circumstances. Education, not prosecution, is the fundamental principle of the experiment. That a measure of co-operation has been obtained is revealed by the statistics. In the first six months of the experimental year which ends in March, 1939, a considerable decrease in accidents has been achieved. From some 7,000 in 1934, the figure had fallen to 5,833 in 1937. That decrease appears to reveal that punitive methods produce some results, but the important point is that, taking the first six months of the experimental period and comparing its results with the similar six months of 1937, there is a reduction in the number of persons killed and injured of 1,934. If this reduction is continued, the total will have fallen from 7,000 to 3,800. In short, the number of accidents fell by 1,167 in four years when punishment was being tried, and by 1,934 in six months when educational and advisory methods were in force. I do not suggest that these figures reveal ideal co-operation but I do offer the thought that the previous method of approach produced little more than money and resentment.

Liberty of the subject has always been a live question and the well-known danger of interpreting liberty as licence to do as one pleases is an enemy of co-operation. The value of operating jointly with others to the same end is becoming more and more apparent even to the strongest individualist. Unfortunately, many people who accept the idea in theory strongly resist any attempt to bring it into practice. But the community is gradually recognising its importance. A simple illustration of this is to be got from the increasing habit of forming queues for 'buses, tramcars and theatres, although it has to be admitted that the last-mentioned is not too happy an example. London Transport have a wide experience of endeavouring to get the public to co-operate in new and old undertakings. Their posters, leaflets and general publicity set a very high standard

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indeed in what might be termed the orchestration of the instruments of publicity. I understand that of all the methods employed to get co-operation, the use of staff produces the best results. Here, again, personal contact methods score high marks but, I believe, at comparatively high cost. On the subject of queues it is interesting to note that the erection of a sign is all that is required in some districts to set the practice going: in others, where the people are strong, active and "rough," a good deal of persuasion is required. The big, strong fellow sees no reason why he should wait in a line for a 'bus when he knows he is strong enough to push his way on to the first one that arrives. And I am not so sure that some of the weaker sex are deficient in strength at 'bus stops where there is no co-operative action to ensure admittance in the order of arrival. But when the public do co-operate by forming queues, or in any other way assist in the better running of a public service, it is vitally important that the service should also co-operate. Fifty people in a queue are placed in an impossible situation should the vehicle for which they have been waiting stop at the tail of the line instead of the head.

Generally speaking, the smaller the community, the more communally-minded are its members, and it is much easier to obtain co-operation for the general good where civic pride flourishes strongest. Glasgow has always been justifiably proud of its civic traditions, but these, according to observant travellers, have never prevented many of its inhabitants from littering the streets with paper of all kinds. Yet very few tramcar tickets are to be seen. I believe, but am not certain, that the provision of special boxes into which passengers could drop their tickets when leaving the tramcar was first made in that city. It required but a short-period poster appeal to achieve marked success, and it has long been regarded as an anti-social act to throw a tram ticket on the streets. One is left wondering why a similar feeling does not exist about other paper litter in some districts of the same city. If the public are invited to co-operate it must be made easy for them to do so and, again, I would refer to London Transport who, by realising the importance of making it easy for travellers underground to find their way about have another high standard in directional signs. For clarity, achieved by the use of good typography on backgrounds free from distracting ornamentation, the notices of that organisation are worth serious study. Most people travelling by Underground are, I think, conscious of the need for co-operating with the organisation in which they find themselves for the time being. Whether London Transport deliberately set themselves to create that consciousness is a moot point and an important one; many of us, I daresay, can think of

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organisations of comparable size which create a consciousness of an entirely different kind. But is it possible to get co-operation from the public without their being conscious of it? I do not refer to methods which permit of no choice. If the only means of reaching the street from an underground railway is an escalator then everyone must use it whether they like it or not, but that is not co-operation any more than one co-operates by paying income tax or refraining from shooting rabbits in Regent Street. Here again I think London Transport have succeeded in directing the flow of traffic so that it follows a carefully planned route. It is difficult not to admire the placing of the ticket machines, the prevention of rubbing friction between masses of people moving in opposite directions and the use of coloured lights to indicate destinations. The use of light to control traffic direction was once the subject of an experiment by the Public Relations Department of the Post Office. It was thought that if an exhibition arranged in plan to resemble a horseshoe, but with a common entrance to both heels, were lighted brilliantly at one heel and rather dimly at the other, the visitors might travel from the bright light round to the dim one. Most of them did, and the experiment was regarded as being successful. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to repeat it, but, for what it is worth, it appears to indicate that co-operation can be got without the public being shepherded along gangways.

Unconscious co-operation can also be obtained by the use of addressed envelopes and, since the introduction of the business reply envelope and card, the success of which is not questioned by anyone, there is little excuse for complaints that the public will not address replies to the correct address. Most people dislike writing letters. The average household is not organised on commercial lines. It is a trouble to get the notepaper, the envelope and, unless postage stamps are bought in book form, postage stamps are seldom available. If a reply is desired, the best means of getting it is to enclose a business reply envelope or card. I would go even farther and enclose a sheet of notepaper. After all, it probably costs much less than the failure to reply at all. Let us now turn to conscious co-operation. The Ministry of Labour, in its pursuit of new and scientific cost-of-living index figures, had, as almost the first step, to secure the friendly co-operation of the public in the matter of family budgets. It is common knowledge that most families are run on the principle of "making ends meet," without very careful weighing of expenditure against income, and almost invariably without keeping written records. For the Ministry's purpose a completely scientific running record of expenditure was needed for four separate periods from a well-defined cross-section of the community. The problem

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was therefore one of obtaining accurate statistics from people notoriously lax in such matters.

The first steps were notices in the Press and a broadcast talk by the Minister. The latter consisted mainly of information concerning the scope and purpose of the inquiry, ending with an earnest appeal for co-operation by interested parties. There was then set up, under the ægis of the local employment exchanges, extra-official committees of suitable persons of standing, competence and goodwill: people who were interested in public affairs. Using the records at its disposal the Ministry of Labour, by a process of random sampling based on well-established principles of statistical technique, drew up lists of householders of the type required for the investigation; then turned themselves into volunteer visitors, a personal visit being made to each of the listed householders to secure by tactful persuasion the necessary co-operation.

The motive of gain was also used: the inducement held out to each participant was that 2s. 6d. would be paid for each completed form returned, with a bonus of a similar amount at the end of the period if all four forms were returned, it being essential to the success of the scheme that each participant should, as it were, stay the course.

The whole scheme was an outstanding success. Probably the personal qualities of the visitors was one of the decisive factors, their interest transforming a dull, bureaucratic statistical inquiry into a thing of direct personal interest. Altogether, an interesting and courageous venture into the problem of how to obtain the co-operation of a section of the public in a new scheme which necessitated the disclosure of information generally regarded as confidential.

In that scheme, the participants had to fill in forms, a task few people, including administrators, can perform successfully. This national weakness is partly due to fear of official forms, but mainly to the very official—sometimes obscure—wording of the questions, poor typography, a desire on the part of the author or authors to avoid white space, and the use of the cheapest possible paper. These remarks apply equally to instruction cards and prefaces to official publications such as the Telephone Directory. Have you read the preface to the Telephone Directory? How did you learn to use the automatic telephone? By reading the preface to the two volumes of the People in London? I imagine not. The Post Office realises that instruction is necessary, and it takes steps to see that that instruction is personal. It arranges for representatives to call at every house in the area where the subscribers are being transferred from manual working to automatic to explain how the automatic telephone is worked, and to invite their co-operation. On the whole, the plan is successful, although some people object to getting their

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own numbers just as they object to doing anything for themselves at any time. Without those personal visitations, it would in all probability take a long time to get the automatic system working properly. People who are not subscribers but who use the street telephone kiosks are not so easily reached, but every effort has been made to make the instruction cards within the kiosks easy to read and to understand. After all, most of us have difficulty in remembering whether we should insert the twopence before lifting the receiver or listen for the dialling tone first.

When the Empire Air Mail scheme was introduced surcharging ceased, and the uniform rate of 1½d. a half-ounce became operative. It was anticipated that many underpaid letters would be posted, and so a vigorous leaflet and poster campaign was set in motion, the maximum emphasis being given to the HALF-ounce. The service has now been operating to Africa for more than twelve months, to India for more than eight, and to Australia for more than four, yet the number of underpaid letters posted every week is 30,000. The problem here is how to reach the people who use the air mail. Where posters of underpaid matter are known, they are written to or visited. The results are encouraging, but slow. Incoming letters are also stamped on the back with a notice about the correct postage. There is no justification for pessimism over this problem: it will solve itself in time, but the time might be reduced if it were the sender who was penalised instead of the addressee.

The infliction of penalties usually produces resentment rather than a desire to co-operate, and if an underpaid air mail letter was held up and missed the despatch the sender would certainly feel aggrieved. If, however, a poster addressed a letter wrongly he would blame himself. His mistake would make him more careful in the future, and he would not go looking around seeking a way to "get his own back." We are all familiar with those double-aperture posting boxes in the streets of central London. One is marked "London" and the other "Country." When the poster uses these correctly he performs the first stage in sorting, and so, unconsciously, assists in the handling of his own correspondence. But if he posts his letter in the wrong aperture, it will most certainly miss the mail. That is the penalty he pays for his lack of co-operation. Again, as in the case of air mail letters, the sender is communicated with by letter or visited by an official, but it is not always possible to trace the offenders. In cases of large posters, the visit produces excellent and permanent results.

So far, most of the examples have revealed successful handling of the problems. There is one, however, which has defied all attempts at a feasible solution, namely, "Post Early." Despite the efforts

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of publicity experts, the public continue to post as usual. In the larger cities, following personal visits from postal representatives, appointed to represent the postal service to the public, several large firms have to some extent revised their posting methods, but the volume of traffic received from these firms is infinitesimal compared with the eight thousand million letters handled every year.

There are a number of points to bear in mind when considering why the post early campaign has not been very successful. First of all, the public has been taught for years that the mail always gets there, that the Post Office is so eager to deliver letters in all parts of the country first thing in the morning that it runs a number of railway travelling Post Offices every night, and that their letters are sorted in those trains. These facts have been hammered home in schools, by leaflets and posters and have been dramatised in Post Office films. For years, the service has been organised to permit the business man to post his letters right up to the last possible minute, and he has organised his office routine accordingly. Suddenly he is asked to post early. What does "early" mean? To one man it may mean four o'clock in the afternoon: to another, seven in the evening. I have already indicated that if the public are asked to do anything it must be made easy for them to do it: they must also be told precisely what to do and when to do it. Early in the day is not definite enough, hence the new injunction to "Post During the Lunch Hour." The habit of lunching must become associated with the necessity for posting. The Post Office has, however, helped very large posters to get rid of their available matter by sending vans to collect it, no additional charge being made for the service. In this way a large volume of matter is brought in early to the sorting offices. But the problem of how to get the public to co-operate by posting early remains unsolved.

So much for the problem of getting people to post at the most convenient time for the Post Office: but what happens when the Post Office wants people to refrain from posting during a certain period? Strangely enough, a large measure of co-operation. The Post Office Savings Bank deals with over eleven million active accounts and the present volume of business involves the recording (by machine) of an average of 150,000 transactions every day. Withdrawals are very heavy in December, and January brings a rush of deposits and new accounts but, in addition to its normal work, the Bank has to face at this season the task of computing the interest on each of the eleven million accounts and of striking the balance for the 1st January. The Bank, therefore, seeks the co-operation of its customers in reducing seasonal pressure and asks depositors who would ordinarily send their bank books to Headquarters in

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January for examination and the insertion of accrued interest, to hold them over as far as possible until the following month. The most effective means for achieving this end has been found to supply the necessary envelope to anyone who applies at a Post Office, but to hand out at the same time a printed notice conveying the Bank's appeal. The notice states frankly that the return of the books forwarded during January will be liable to delay in return, but emphasises that examination after January will not result in any disadvantage, as the year's interest is, in any case, credited to the account card as at the 31st December. This procedure was first introduced last year and was so effective that the number of books received during January was well over 200,000 less than in January, 1937. This represented a deferment until a more convenient period of some 15,000 to 20,000 hours work by a staff already employed for ten hours a day. Surely an excellent illustration of the value of frankness in obtaining co-operation from the public. But when the public asks for co-operation from the Post Office, what happens? For decades, the Post Office pen rivalled mother-in-law as a music-hall and comic journal joke. The public demanded better pens. They got them. Beautiful bright Post Office red pens, complete with stainless steel nibs. The days of excusing bad writing and blotted paper by blaming the Post Office pen were over. Those new pens were good. The trouble was that they were too good. The public took them to their hearts and placed them in their pockets. But what were a few thousand pens resplendent in red enamel and glittering steel to the fact that a government department had co-operated with the public and so raised the standard of pens in the home and its own prestige?

It seems obvious that the most effective way to obtain co-operation is by personal contact, but when that involves a visit by a representative of the organisation responsible for the introduction of new schemes or a radical change in existing ones, it is not only costly but also impracticable when the whole country has to be covered. The value of newspaper announcements must not be ignored, but the "life" of these is short and their prominence frequently determined by the events of the day. It has to be a good "story" to "live" longer than forty-eight hours.

Broadcasting is perhaps the best substitute for the personal visit, but the speaker must be chosen with great care. His talk must leave no doubt whatever in the minds of his listeners. It must carry the stamp of truth and the hallmark of conviction. It must be personal to each listener: any attempt to read an official pamphlet will be fatal to the end in view. No other publicity medium can reach so

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many people at a given moment: no other can produce such simultaneous action.

Films are also of the utmost value. They can be used either as immediate or long-range instruments. In the former, it is necessary to have them shown in the public cinemas almost simultaneously. To secure this showing, they must be theatrical. In the latter, the subject must be dramatised and the displays must be arranged by the organisation itself. This can be done either by using existing documentary cinema circuits or establishing several for its own use. The Post Office, for example, has seven units operating for adults and four which confine their activities to schools. Films stating exactly why an up-to-date telephone directory should be consulted have proved their usefulness; the point being that telephone numbers change. How to use the automatic dial is a subject which is shown on every possible occasion in an area where a change from manual to automatic working is about to take place. But the most effective publicity is the showing of films in schools for long-range purposes. If the child gets a thorough grasp of the important part played by the Post Office in the life of the world which he will soon enter, he will not only understand how the Post Office machine works, but will automatically co-operate in its working.

Finally, let it be emphasised as strongly as possible that when co-operation is desired the reasons for seeking it must be made perfectly clear; there must be no reservations, or at least as few as possible, but preferably none. The request must be made in simple language; the language of the ordinary man. Explanations of the action desired must avoid any suggestion of "talking down" to the "customer"; the approach should be that of assuming him to be an intelligent and reasonable person. It is, on the whole, far better to be a step ahead of him than to follow him; most people are flattered to think that the speaker or the writer has a high opinion of them. When action is desired it is essential that performance should be made perfectly easy. I have already referred to the business-reply method of obtaining answers. Bodily action is more difficult to obtain especially where the listener or the reader is hazy about where he is to go and what he is to do when he gets there. Filling in a coupon involves bodily activity. It has been demonstrated time and again that readers of certain publications will not cut out coupons and that others will not fill them in if they are printed on the right-hand edge of an advertisement printed on a left-hand page. Small points, some may think, but they really are important. Requests for co-operation must bear the stamp of indisputable authority. I cannot, I think, do better than to quote from the preface to Saint Joan:—

"Having thus brought the matter home to ourselves, we may

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now consider the special feature of Joan's mental constitution which made her so unmanageable. What is to be done on the one hand with rulers who will not give any reason for their orders, and on the other with people who cannot understand the reasons when they are given? The government of the world, political, industrial, and domestic, has to be carried on mostly by the giving and obeying of orders under just those conditions. 'Don't argue: do as you are told,' has to be said not only to children and soldiers, but practically to everybody. Fortunately most people do not want to argue: they are only too glad to be saved the trouble of thinking for themselves. And the ablest and most independent thinkers are content to understand their own special department. In other departments they will unhesitatingly ask for and accept the instructions of a policeman or the advice of a tailor without demanding or desiring explanations.

"Nevertheless, there must be some ground for attaching authority to an order. A child will obey its parents, a soldier his officer, a philosopher a railway porter, and a workman a foreman, all without question, because it is generally accepted that those who give the orders understand what they are about, and are duly authorised and even obliged to give them, and because, in the practical emergencies of daily life, there is no time for lessons and explanations, or for arguments as to their validity. Such obediences are as necessary to the continuous operation of our social system as the revolutions of the earth are to the succession of night and day. But they are not so spontaneous as they seem: they have to be very carefully arranged and maintained. A bishop will defer to and obey a king; but let a curate venture to give him an order, however necessary and sensible, and the bishop will forget his cloth and damn the curate's impudence. The more obedient a man is to accredited authority the more jealous he is of allowing any unauthorised person to order him about."

To sum up, I would suggest that to secure the whole-hearted co-operation of the public it is essential—

- (1) to state your case frankly, emphasising the benefits you are bestowing rather than the advantages you expect to gain;
- (2) to dramatise your appeal and support it, if possible, by personal contacts;
- (3) to be sure you can carry out all you promise and to back your request by first-class service; once let the public down and you will appeal in vain a second time; the publicity should never be better than the service behind it;
- (4) to make co-operation as easy as possible by telling the public in simple and understandable terms how, when, where and why;

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- (5) to word your request in such a manner as to lead the man in the street to feel that in co-operating with you he is a "real good fellow";
"Thank you for shutting the door" is likely to be far more effective than a curt order to "Shut the door";
- (6) to persuade and reason rather than to pontificate—and above all not to bully or threaten.

May I, in conclusion, refer you to two diametrically opposed views on this subject:—" . . . he who would develop propaganda intelligently and efficiently must . . . take restraint as his motto. The most important part of propaganda is knowing when to keep quiet." Contrast that statement with this: "Propaganda should not be in the least respectable; nor should it be mild and humble; it should be successful."

Regarding "propaganda" for our purpose as "education" the truth lies, I think, somewhere between these two extremes.

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By C. G. BROWNE,
Publicity Manager, Brighton Corporation
Publicity Advisor, Hove Corporation

[*Paper discussed at the London Conference of the Institute,
11th and 12th February, 1939*]

THERE are in England, Scotland and Wales nearly ten thousand local authorities (ranging from County to Parish Councils) responsible for an annual expenditure of more than £500,000,000. Of this aggregate amount about £176,000,000, or £4 6s. 3d. per head of the population, is raised in rates. These authorities consist of about 150,000 members and employ about 130,000 officers in administrative, professional, technical and clerical duties in addition to many thousands of other employees.

Eleven million ratepayers constitute the shareholders of this huge business, but how few at the present time take anything more than a cursory interest in the conduct of local affairs and the machinery of local government.

It would be interesting to know to what extent the average man, preoccupied as he is with his own immediate concerns (including football pools) can be encouraged to study these subjects and to enlighten others around him. The chief occasions upon which the man-in-the-street evinces any pronounced interest in local government are at local elections and when faced with his rate demand. At the elections he, perhaps, reads the addresses of the rival candidates, attends a meeting or two, casts his vote, cheers or "boos" the successful candidate when the result of the poll is declared, and then promptly forgets the name of his representative until the next election comes round. As to the rate demand, his reaction may, probably, be a grumble at the price of maintaining an administration with the details of which he is totally ignorant.

How far this apathy (as shewn by the fact that less than fifty per cent. of the electorate trouble to vote at local elections) and ill-

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informed criticism can be replaced by the development of interest in local government; how far, in fact, can the citizen be educated to "mind his own business," is a problem which deserves the most careful consideration. Commenting on this subject a popular journal says:—

"The trouble is that the innumerable things the municipalities do for us are so much taken for granted. Perhaps they should go on strike for a day just to make us appreciate them. We should certainly be in a sorry plight before the one-day strike was over.

Alternatively, councillors could devote a little more time to blowing their own trumpets. Whitehall is already learning the necessity of good propaganda. Even Blue books are getting attractive these days. Now it is time the town halls had a new coat of paint, while the authorities enshrined within them might realise that 'it pays to advertise.'"

I am one of those who believe that there is a vast reservoir of good-will among the citizens of every town waiting to be tapped if only a lead is given. Perhaps I may be permitted to give an example from my own town, Brighton. A few years ago the Town Council inaugurated a "Posting Week" and an appeal was made to the inhabitants through the Press and by means of an "open letter" to assist in advertising the town. Ratepayers were asked to help by:—

(1) Stressing the attractions of Brighton in conversation with residents of other places with whom they came into contact.

(2) Sending letters, picture postcards, publicity literature and luggage labels to friends, acquaintances and business connections suggesting the idea of "Brighton for your Holidays."

(3) Sending to potential visitors copies of the special "Post it Away" edition of the *Brighton and Hove Herald*, featuring the great changes Brighton had undergone in recent years to keep pace with modern requirements.

(4) Using coloured "Come to Brighton" poster stamps on all correspondence sent out of the town.

This novel campaign which, incidentally, was, I think, the first (and perhaps the only) occasion when postal pillar boxes were used as advertising stations ("Brighton Posting Week—Post Early and Often") for other than purely departmental purposes, met with remarkable co-operation on the part of the ratepayers and revealed an *esprit-de-corps* which was highly gratifying to the committee concerned with the arrangements.

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The weeks of crisis in September, 1938, gave, perhaps, the most striking recent proof of the readiness of the citizen to co-operate with government authorities. For the first time in their lives thousands of men, women and children visited municipal offices with offers of voluntary service. As Mr. J. L. Holland, President of the National Association of Local Government Officers, remarks in a letter to the Press:—

“ These volunteers have seen something of the range, the importance and the difficulty of local administrative work, and, what is more significant, they have experienced something of its satisfactions in service for the safety and well-being of all.

If that collaboration results—as I believe it will—in a greater public interest in, and understanding of, our local government machine, it will be of the utmost benefit. For that machine is the basis of our democratic system. To-day it means the difference between civilisation and savagery; to-morrow it may mean the difference between national safety and national destruction. Every day fresh burdens are imposed upon it. It must be maintained at the highest pitch of efficiency. And that will be possible only if it can secure the good-will, the co-operation and the active interest of every citizen.”

Government departments have found that they can no longer remain the aloof, mysterious and impersonal bodies most of them once were, and several departments have now appointed Public Relations Officers, whose work is to keep the public in touch with policy and administration, and where necessary to seek and develop co-operation on the part of the tax-payer. This procedure can well be applied to local government.

Several papers on this important subject have already appeared in *PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION*,* and it is not the purpose of this paper to elaborate the need for this development in local government. My object is rather to suggest machinery by which Public Relations work can be accomplished in such a manner as to achieve its objects in the most effective form, in the shortest time, and with due regard to expenditure.

A local government public relations service would have the experience of its counterpart in central government as a guide; to emulate its successes; to avoid its failures. The recent report of the Select Committee on estimates dealing with Advertising and Publicity

* T. S. Simey, M.A., July, 1935; C. Kent Wright, B.A., January, 1936, and others. Also lectures by James Taylor, F.A.L.P.A., City Development Officer, Coventry, given at N.A.L.G.O. Summer School, University College, Bangor, 1938.

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of Government Departments has some very trite remarks to make on this subject. The total expenditure on advertising and publicity by Government Departments for the current financial year is £651,654, and the Committee remark that though they have not sufficient information to judge whether this expenditure is, or is not, excessive when account is taken of the multifarious ways in which the duties of Government Departments affect the public individually, the figure is of sufficient magnitude to make it incumbent on the administration of each department concerned to consider most carefully in advance, and to review in the light of results and of any changes in the situation, their publicity expenditure in all its aspects.

The Committee are critical of the arrangements made in the departments generally for the planning of advertising campaigns and for ensuring that the large expenditure involved is economically and efficiently directed, and among their recommendations are the following:—

(1) Appointment of an Advisory Committee comprised of representatives of commercial and industrial firms to which all proposals should be referred for criticism.

(2) Appointment of a Central Advisory Council to advise all Departments requiring films for publicity purposes.

(3) Appointment of specially qualified civilians (with journalistic and/or publicity experience) for publicity work.

Local government public relations or the business of "civic projection" falls broadly under two heads, viz.:—

(1) the promotion of an atmosphere of confidence on the part of the public that their interests are being faithfully observed in the general operations of the local authority through its members and officials, and

(2) the education of the public as regards the detailed working of the various departments (especially where they have an intimate bearing upon the well-being of the community), in order to ensure that the citizens shall have full information not only of their "rights" but also of their duties and responsibilities, and shall be encouraged to co-operate with the local authority as partners in a well-conducted business.

The town crier was, perhaps, the local government public relations officer of mediæval times (he still remains an ornament in some ancient boroughs), but it is no longer possible to carry out this work with one pair of lungs.

To-day there are no Public Relations Officers, so designated, in local government service.

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The clerk to the authority is the focal point upon which the administration turns and he is in constant and intimate touch with every department and with the ratepayers generally. Some authorities employ Development Officers and Publicity Managers whose duties embrace part of the range of public relations. Every local authority of any size maintains trading departments which advertise their individual services, and these often employ departmental advertising officers. Co-ordination has been effected in many authorities in the matter of centralised purchase of stores, stationery, etc., and co-ordination could, no doubt, be equally well applied to these departmental advertising activities.

The suggestion of the Select Committee referred to above as to the appointment of an Advisory Committee may be at present inapplicable to Local Government Public Relations, but should this Committee come into being, it might be possible for local authorities eventually to have the benefit of its services or, alternatively, to set up a central organisation for consultative and certain executive purposes under a constitution similar to that of the Travel and Industrial Development Association of Great Britain and Ireland. In any case, it is open to every local officer concerned with advertising, however wide his experience, to avail himself of the services and experience of a good advertising agency.

Advertising to-day is a highly specialised business, and is becoming even more technical and scientific. The modern advertising agent is no longer a mere space broker, but one who has a profound knowledge of the psychology of the public gained as the result of the most detailed research work. To a great extent his services are paid for, curiously enough, not by the advertiser, but by the seller of advertising space, viz., the Press, etc.—a method which, in passing, I consider to be open to some criticism. To work effectively, an agency must have intimate knowledge of the work of its principals—a knowledge which takes time to acquire. It follows that once having found a good agency, the advertiser should stick to it—otherwise it may mean starting from scratch all over again.

THE MACHINERY OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Let us look at a few of the channels through which we can tell the public what local government is doing, how and why it is being done, and how more satisfactory results for the community can be obtained through co-operation. They will be found, in the main, to be instruments which have been used in all successful commercial advertising and publicity. A mass of research data is available to prove their efficiency.

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Rival claims on a public already beset by innumerable appeals are rapidly increasing and adequate publicity tends to become more expensive. It must follow, therefore, that in order to eliminate waste and to secure full value for money, nothing should be left to chance.

THE PRESS

It is, I think, axiomatic that the Press constitutes the best method of approach to the Public both from the editorial and the advertising points of view. Radio and film, each in their own sphere and at their own selected times, command an enormous public, but their appeal is evanescent as compared with the comparative permanency of the printed word—a power, as Lord Southwood remarked in his Presidential address to the recent International Advertising Convention at Glasgow, “more potent than guns and gas masks.” One must, therefore, place in the forefront the Press as the quickest and most effective way of contacting the mass of the public.

In that comprehensive “Report on the British Press,” issued by P E P (Political and Economic Planning) and reviewed in the July, 1938, issue of *PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION*, some illuminating remarks appear on the subject of the relationship of industrial public relations officers with the Press.

After dealing with the question of the public demand for industrial news and the methods adopted by wide-awake commercial firms in securing publicity, the report refers to the increasing practice of appointing public relations officers and publicity managers whose duty is not only to supply news in an appetising form, but also to combat any publicity regarding their firms which may appear to be unfavourable or unfair in character. “It is the duty of these men, when unfavourable reference is made to their concern or industry, to follow it up, for example, by a correspondence which may need very careful editorial handling. There may be no threat to withdraw advertising, but if the publicity manager, as increasingly happens, is also a large advertiser, the newspaper is unlikely to ignore anything he may have to say. Moreover, the busy journalist is likely to avoid giving opportunities for protest, when he knows there is a full-time man paid to follow up any adverse criticism. Again, a trained journalist in the position of publicity manager can secure an immense increase in the amount of newspaper space devoted to a business or industry, but there must, of course, be a news-value somewhere. Much also depends on contacts, and a firm whose staff number many journalists among their acquaintances will probably be treated better than a firm less well placed in this respect.”

On the subject of local government relations with the Press, the report points out that admission to full council meetings, but not to

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committee meetings, where most of the real work of local government is done, is secured to the Press by an Act of 1908, but adds that "there is a disturbing tendency to nullify the intention of this Act by moving the transformation of the council into a committee and so excluding the Press when matters of public interest are being discussed. Local government has a number of enemies and Press reports are among its chief means of keeping some hold on public opinion. It would be a pity if short-sighted treatment of the Press were to lead to local government receiving less prominence and thus to an increase of public apathy over local affairs."

Not everything that appears in the Press regarding local government may be to the liking of those who are jealous for the good name of the service, but it must be remembered that the primary duty of a newspaper is to provide news. The viewpoint of the responsible newspaper proprietor is aptly expressed in a book published recently ("An Adventure with a Genius"—the life story of Joseph Pulitzer) in which the following appears:—

"A newspaper should be scrupulously accurate, it should be clean; it should avoid everything salacious or suggestive, everything that could offend the taste or lower the moral tone of its readers, but within these limits it is the duty of a newspaper to print the news . . .

"We are a democracy, and there is only one way to get a democracy on its feet in the matter of its individual, its social, its municipal, its State, its National conduct, and that is by keeping the public informed about what is going on . . .

"If I caught a man on my staff suppressing news because one of our advertisers objected to having it printed, I would dismiss him instantly."

To that expression of opinion no reasonable man can take exception. It is, however, a deplorable fact that in pursuit of the craze for sensationalism certain sections of the Press are apt to pander to the unfortunate taste of a proportion of the public for lurid excitement. The business of securing a real interest in public affairs is hampered whenever insignificant facts are presented in the garb of significance.

To my mind the best way of combating "sensationalism" in the Press is to supply representatives with complete and accurate information and to take up immediately with the management any cases in which inaccurate reports appear calculated to damage the reputation of good government.

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It is held that there are only three legitimate reasons for refusing information when it is asked for:

- (1) because the department does not possess the information.
- (2) because the preparation of the information would cause a dislocation of other work out of all proportion to its value;
- (3) because the information is "confidential" at that particular moment.

Take Press representatives into your confidence as much as possible and you will find that such confidence is not misplaced. Give them *advance* knowledge of your objects and intentions. Discuss your plans with them where possible, for they are the interpreters not only to the public but of the public. In short, treat them, as they undoubtedly are, as collaborators and colleagues in the work of public relations. The work of local government is always "news."

Turning from editorial to advertising, I am of opinion that the time is coming when local authorities will make much more (and more intelligent) use of press advertising space. The advertising schemes of the Post Office and other central government departments have amply justified their objects, and what can be accomplished in the national field can also be done in the provincial field.

Local government Press advertising at present falls into three categories:—

- (1) Statutory "public notices."
- (2) Advertising placed by Development Officers extolling the advantages of the area for holidays or permanent residence or for the purpose of attracting new industries, and
- (3) Advertisements placed by municipal trading undertakings.

Comparatively little has been done in the realm of Press advertising with the object of education in citizenship or in securing the co-operation of ratepayers in schemes for the common good. That excellent use can be made of Press advertising is evidenced by the recent example of A.R.P. propaganda (here, of course, the publicity was more effective under the stress of a common danger) and also of the National Fitness campaign.

The provincial Press supplies a ready and effective means of keeping the public informed on local government matters, both through their editorial and advertising columns. "It is the duty of the people," says Mr. J. B. Priestley, "to read their local newspapers, for it is as important for them to know what Alderman Smith and Councillor Brown have been doing and saying as it is for them to know what Mr. Chamberlain and Sir John Simon have been

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doing and saying. The man who cannot understand this does not deserve to live under a democratic system."

Among the provincial Press are many of the oldest established newspapers in Great Britain, some with uninterrupted histories extending over more than two centuries. They are as welcome in the homes of the people as old friends and usually provide intensive coverage of their respective areas at comparatively cheap advertising rates.

There are numerous ways in which display advertising in the provincial Press can serve the purpose of public relations, and if intelligent use is made of the space (which is, of course, the advertiser's job) satisfactory results should automatically follow.

OUTDOOR ADVERTISING

This general description covers all forms of outdoor advertising, *e.g.*, posters; road signs; painted walls; electric displays; advertising in 'buses, trams and on vans; sandwich board advertising; sky writing and other advertising in which flying craft are employed.

The main forms readily applicable to public relations work are posters placed in public positions and on public transport vehicles, and I propose to confine my remarks to these.

Posters in some form or another have been connected with local government activities from very early days. We all know the statutory notices outside municipal buildings and places of worship, usually so "official" and forbidding in appearance that it is very doubtful whether they possess any one of the qualities necessary for effective publicity, namely, to arrest attention, to arouse interest and to stimulate action. These, perhaps, are the pioneers of local government posters and they have changed but little in the last hundred years. It may be that, with a planned system of public relations operating in local government, these, together with the lengthy, cumbrous and singularly indigestible looking Regulations at the entrance to public parks and in public conveyances will be replaced by notices of more attractive appearance, drawn up in such a way as to *command* attention.

The well-designed poster, properly displayed, can be a very effective publicity agent. Perhaps its greatest successes have been obtained when used in intelligent co-ordination with other media. Its advantages include:—

- (1) The use of colour.
- (2) Localisation to suit the requirements of the advertiser.
- (3) Frequency in appeal and consequent "reminder" effect.

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Commercial poster sizes and posting charges are based on a unit measuring 30 inches by 20 inches and termed a "double crown." On public hoardings the most widely used size is sixteen times this area, viz., 120 inches by 80 inches, and termed a "sixteen sheet." Display rates vary according to position, but for "average" display of four consecutive weeks the cost may be taken as 2½d. or 3d. per week per double crown sheet. Reduced rates operate for longer periods.

Cost of printing will, of course, vary with the number printed and the character of the poster, viz., letterpress only, simple lithographic designs or posters in full colour.

For the limited number of posters likely to be required for purely local public relations, it would not be an economic proposition to use posters printed in several colours. Well-planned letterpress posters or those with a simple design in two or three colours should meet ordinary needs. Usually the local authority has many sites, including positions on local public transport vehicles, under its own control, upon which free display can be arranged, but care should be taken that the Advertising Regulations made by the local authority under the various controlling Acts of Parliament are not infringed.

Some local government services, however, are of such a character that they can be advertised effectively throughout the country by standard poster designs, *e.g.*, Public Health, Transport and Road Safety, Education, Baths, Libraries, etc. A.R.P. is, perhaps, the best example of this type of advertising. Wherever one goes at the present time one sees A.R.P. announcements, varying in size from a few square inches to sixteen-sheeters. This is the result of a well-planned scheme directed from the central government department concerned, the large aggregate number of posters required making it an economical proposition to use designs involving several printings.

The Director of Publicity, A.R.P. Department of the Home Office, has kindly supplied me with the following information as to the issue of posters, etc., in connection with this scheme:—

16 sheets	20,000
Double Royals for the four main railways					5,000
Strutted cards for railway waiting rooms					10,000
Double Crown posters (four designs)	...				240,000
10 ins. by 15 ins. bills		350,000
10 ins. by 15 ins. hanging cards (general)					300,000
10 ins. by 15 ins. hanging cards (for volunteers' houses)		400,000
9 ins. by 6 ins. transparencies		300,000
8 ins. by 5 ins. folders		7,000,000

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Free distribution was arranged by 1,260 local authorities, the British Poster Advertising Association, railway companies, public utility companies and multiple companies, including the banks, chain stores, etc.

Effective co-operation between central and local government departments should make it possible to apply a similar procedure to a number of other services.

PRINTED LITERATURE

The Council agenda and minutes are the record of what the local authority is doing and what it plans to do in the future, and as such form a very useful foundation for public information through the Press. Other publications include official guides, annual departmental reports, abstracts of accounts, pamphlets on various aspects of civic administration, etc.

Local civic pride is well exemplified in the number of "official guides" and "handbooks" issued by or under the auspices of local authorities. It is probably safe to say that most authorities are represented by literature of this character. I have made a collection of many hundreds of these books, representative of every type of local government authority from the Parish to the County Council.

Up to quite recent years it could be said with much truth that, generally speaking, the style of the text matter and, indeed, of the whole make-up, of official handbooks issued by local authorities was stereotyped and entirely unconvincing. "Guide book" language, in which superlatives were used so frequently as to destroy any descriptive value they might possess; hackneyed, prosaic and unimaginative phraseology, mediocre format with dull half-tone blocks printed on poor paper, all combined to produce publications suitable only for the waste-paper basket. Writing on this subject, the late Sir John Foster-Fraser said:—

"The purely local guide book is frequently poor stuff. The reader is not interested in the names of the local town councillors and a lot of members of the fire brigade. There is too much adjectival gush about scenery and salubriousness by the local compilers The town may be worthy of admiration—it often is—but the aim seems to be to flatter local people rather than to assist the voyageurs.

"A guide book should be companionable and chatty, so that you feel the writer is proud of what the town has to show, and having put his arm through yours, will gossip about the place Every British town has a story to tell; but I wish it were more often less stodgily told."

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Fortunately, of late, there has been a great change for the better. No longer, in the case of progressive local authorities, is the production left to "someone in the office." The official handbook has come to be regarded as the town's ambassador and its most potent salesman, and as such demands the best brains for its production. It should be written in modern intimate language by a skilful pen, able to convey in print the "atmosphere" of the place and its *human* story, and should be illustrated with pictures specially done for the purpose, printed on good paper by first-class blocks or other suitable methods of printing. If the local printer is unable to produce a satisfactory job, no qualms should be felt in placing the work outside the town.

To my mind the direct responsibility for the production should rest on the local authority and the line of least resistance should not be followed by handing the job over to outside contractors on the basis of their sole remuneration consisting of the "advertising rights" of the book. Though I have seen several good examples of work done by such contractors under these conditions, I am of opinion that this method leads to somewhat stereotyped productions, and to the possibility in certain cases of the employment of coercion in obtaining advertisements—a procedure which is calculated to bring the local authority into disrepute.

Preferably the handbook should be without advertisements. If this is impracticable, then no advertisements should be inserted on the cover or in the front of the book—the reader is quite unnecessarily irritated if he has to wade through a long string of advertisements before he arrives at the first page of editorial matter. Nor should interleaving of advertisements in the editorial section be permitted. Such advertising as does appear should be confined to the back pages and every effort should be made to ensure that the advertisements themselves are displayed, both in illustration and setting, to accord with the dignity of the presentation of the editorial matter.

Other points to consider are:—

(a) Determination of size of book in relation to (a) attractiveness and convenience from the reader's point of view, and (b) the possibility of cutting the pages from stock sheets. If pages are *too* square or *too* oblong the effect is displeasing. An ideal proportion is in the ratio of 3 to 2.

(b) The careful selection of type face for text matter and display headings.

(c) Avoidance of "overcrowding" in setting. The pages should be given their proper proportion of white space.

(d) The inclusion of a really good town plan.

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If the handbook is to deal with the various services of the municipality, it is well that consideration should be given to the question of arranging it in appropriate sections (as in the case of the admirable handbook issued by the City of Birmingham), thus admitting of the individual parts being used as separate departmental pamphlets.

A well-prepared series of departmental handbooks was issued by the Manchester Corporation in connection with the City's Charter Centenary Celebrations, 1938. Notable among these are "Money Talks" (by the City Treasurer's Department); "Take a Pride in your City" (Cleansing Department), and "Your City—Manchester, 1838-1938," a booklet prepared by the Manchester Municipal Officers' Guild with the main object of providing a readable account of civic administration in Manchester for use by teachers and senior scholars.

On the occasion of the Royal Jubilee, the Corporation of Brighton presented to every ratepayer a beautifully produced brochure prepared by a local newspaper containing information on the history and government of the town. One of the duties of the public relations officer of the future will, no doubt, be to prepare and issue annual or half-yearly publications detailing the work of the local council in interesting and non-technical language. A good example of this type of literature is the quarterly "Over the Points" issued by the Southern Railway. The periodical issue of rate demand notes and bills or accounts of trading undertakings offer exceptional opportunities for the distribution of such publications.

FILMS

Increasing attention is being given to the use of "documentary" films in public relations, but the comparatively high cost of production and of effective distribution militates against any rapid advancement in this field. The development of "News" cinemas should assist this form of publicity. Local cinemas of this type are now providing opportunities for screening local events, and included in these we may expect that from time to time the mayor or some other prominent citizen will give film talks on what the local council is doing.

Offers to the local authority of "free" film publicity which involve payment for the film by local advertisers should be treated with circumspection.

I consider that the best method by which local government can make use of the screen is by a centralised body undertaking responsibility for the preparation of a series of films by a producer of experience and vision, of such a quality as to ensure some likelihood

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of the production being of "box-office" value. I understand that the National Association of Local Government Officers is at present exploring possibilities in this direction. In this development the advice and assistance of the Post Office Film Unit would be of the greatest value.

BROADCASTING

The great advantage of broadcasting is the opportunity it offers for "personal" contact with individual listeners. For this, of course, the right technique must be observed. The speaker or entertainer has the entrée into the very heart of the home with the possibility of the undivided attention of the listener whilst he is in a receptive frame of mind.

"Time" on the ether can only be bought through certain foreign stations, the British Broadcasting Corporation's charter expressly banning this form of commercialism.

Whatever view we may take of the desirability of encouraging the commercial use of radio and so adding to the danger of the invasion of the sanctity of our homes by voluble salesmen merely by the careless turning of a knob, it is evident that broadcasting is a powerful medium of propaganda. Though some local authorities, somewhat paradoxically, occasionally use foreign broadcasting stations to advertise the attraction of their towns to Britishers, it is unlikely that any will use these stations for purely local public relations. The type of "boosting" associated with commercial radio publicity as caricatured in the following fanciful extract from "Punch" is hardly suitable to our present purpose:—

Announcer: "Tell me, Miss La Moor, don't you find Beaudent Toothpaste refreshing and pleasant to the taste?"

Girl: "I certainly do."

Announcer: "Doesn't its snow-white foam reach to the farthest corners of your mouth?"

Girl: "It sure does."

Announcer: "Do you find Beaudent makes your teeth sparkle like precious gems?"

Girl: "Yes, Sir."

Announcer: "Is it your opinion that Beaudent is by far the most popular toothpaste in the world?"

Girl: "It is."

Announcer: "Well, Miss La Moor, you certainly have convinced me . . ."

It would, however, seem desirable to utilise the facilities offered

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by local broadcast relay stations for public relations work. These stations are in touch with many thousands of listeners, but at present their licences do not permit them to broadcast anything originating in Great Britain other than the B.B.C. programmes. Often occasions arise when this channel of direct and intimate contact with the public could be used by local authorities with great advantage, and it is a point worthy of consideration as to whether the Government should not be approached to relax the licensing conditions of these local stations so as to permit of such use.

The B.B.C. are showing commendable enterprise in broadcasting news and special features concerning local government, and as the demand grows, will, no doubt, be prepared to devote more and more time to this subject.

CIVIC EXHIBITIONS

One of the most effective means by which the citizen can gain some appreciation of the work of a local authority and can learn something of the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship is through the agency of a well-planned civic exhibition. This may take the form of a special exhibition devoted only to civic affairs (as in the case of the Manchester Exhibition of 1938) or may be part of a larger exhibition run in association with commercial and industrial undertakings.

The former type is to be preferred as in the latter the municipal exhibits are liable to be overshadowed by the multitude of stands of commercial firms crying their wares with a more blatant appeal. In commenting on a recent provincial commercial-cum-civic exhibition, "Local Government Service" states that perhaps the most useful lesson which the exhibition taught was that a civic exhibition should not be part of a commercial show. If, however, it must, for purposes of cost, be allied to commerce, then the municipal exhibits should be kept entirely separate from the distracting elements of competitive display.

The Town Clerk of Manchester has been kind enough to supply me with information regarding the Municipal Exhibition staged in connection with the Charter Centenary Celebrations of that great city. Every aspect of departmental administration was covered in this comprehensive display, providing in a clear and simple fashion a picture of the many and far-reaching services of the Corporation. Of the 120,000 visitors to the Exhibition during its run of two weeks, 35,000 were children from Manchester and adjacent areas. A gratifying feature was the visit of lord mayors, mayors and town clerks from seventy county boroughs in England, Wales and Ireland.

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"Perhaps the most satisfactory result of the Exhibition," the Town Clerk states, "was the undoubted impression it made on young and old visitors. Frequently the remark was overheard 'I never thought the Corporation did so many things,' and the constant round of enquiries made to the Corporation officials on duty revealed a profound desire to learn the full significance of the exhibits."

The net general cost to the Organising Committee was £2,342, but this sum does not include the particular expenses incurred by various departments. The Committee recorded the opinion that, "having regard to the exceptional interest shown by the public," the expense was amply justified.

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Contact with the public through correspondence is a subject deserving of much care and attention. Apart from the small percentage of letters from confirmed "grouzers," the vast bulk of letters from the public are sent because the writers have genuine difficulties to solve or have complaints to make which in their opinion require investigation. Formal replies in cold official phraseology arouse a sense of disappointment and sometimes of irritation. Consider the sales letters of commercial firms who specialise in "Direct Mail," which has now acquired a highly developed and personalised technique. The efficacy of such methods has long been proved, and here again a leaf may be taken out of the book of commerce to assist the promotion of public relations work.

INFORMATION BUREAUX

Public libraries throughout the country play an important part in the education of the citizen in local affairs and they should be encouraged to develop this side of their work. The display of books on citizenship and the encouragement of the public to read them is one of the tasks which fall naturally into this sphere of local administration. Many towns have, in addition, information bureaux and with the development of public relations work more of these will be established. There is one point I would particularly stress in this connection, viz., the siting of the bureau. The "public" is made up of all sorts and conditions of people, and some are too timid to venture into a palatial town hall in order to ascertain information which they may sorely need. The information bureau should therefore be situated either on the ground floor of the town civic buildings, easily seen and accessible to all, or in a less preten-

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tious yet prominent and accessible position of its own with open access to the street. It should have a bright inviting appearance and people should be encouraged to make the utmost use of it. Some enquiries are bound to be unusual and not directly concerned with local affairs. For example, I recently had a telephonic enquiry at my bureau from a ratepayer about to take an examination in arithmetic, asking whether the word "product" applied to addition or multiplication.

GENERAL

In the planning of all types of publicity, the public relations officer should ever bear in mind the audience he is addressing. In particular, most careful thought should be given to those addressed to children, the citizens of the future. Much is already being done in some areas in Education in Citizenship, but the time is approaching, I hope, when this important subject will be included in the curriculum of every public elementary and secondary school, and the fullest use made of specially prepared literature, broadcast talks and films.

I will conclude by again quoting Mr. J. B. Priestley:—

"Politics begin at home. The local problem is the one that nearly any sensible citizen can help to decide. If a man wants to learn how to think politically, how to vote, how to legislate, let him begin within ten miles of his own house, dealing with problems that are familiar to him, and with men whose character he knows. The local councils provide the finest possible political education. It is their continued existence and influence that enable us to keep some political wisdom, to steer past crisis after crisis in a fashion that seems to foreign onlookers nothing short of miraculous

"You can keep your eye on local government. Out of the men you can keep your eye on, you can choose one to go and keep *his* eye on national government. That is how democracy works. If hardly anybody can take an interest in government, it cannot work. The more difficult it is for anybody to take an interest in politics, the worse it is for democracy. Therefore, any movement that tends to rob our provincial life of its fine tradition of self-government is profoundly undemocratic. In the same way, anything that helps to sustain that provincial life is working for the continuance and success of our democratic system of government."

There need be no fear that the development of public relations in

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local government involves an unwarrantable interference with the liberty of the subject. On the contrary, liberty may be destroyed through inaction in the matter of building up a calm and informed public opinion. It is only a comparatively static undertaking which can afford not to develop its public relations to the full, and local government is by no means static. Just as advertising is of no permanent value if the product is not good, so public relations can only function properly if the service is good. Public relations, still in its infancy stage, is, I believe, destined to become one of the "essential" services of local government. Such an assessment of its value can but make for better service both from the elected representatives of the people and from local government officers themselves.

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By ALEC SPOOR

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*[Paper discussed at the London Conference of the Institute,
11th and 12th February, 1939]*

LOCAL authorities constantly require the co-operation of the public in a great and growing variety of ways, from prompt payment of rates to the eradication of rats, from slum clearance to school attendance, from volunteer A.R.P. work to the washing of leaky taps, from the burning of household rubbish to the tidy disposal of tram tickets. It would be difficult to name a single local government activity in which public co-operation would not contribute materially to administrative efficiency and economy; in many activities, of which, perhaps, Air Raid Precautions is the most notable to-day, it is essential if the work is to be satisfactorily performed at all.

What do local authorities do to secure that co-operation? Personal—and admittedly limited—experience would suggest that, with few exceptions, they do very little and that little, on the whole, badly, with ill-considered technique and scarcely any application of the lessons of popular psychology.

In considering this problem, it is, I feel, impossible to limit discussion to methods of obtaining public support in the execution of particular schemes. Those, it seems to me, are inevitably subsidiary to the much bigger question of the relations between the authority and the community it serves. It is, surely, axiomatic that a local authority which is on good terms with its community, which has secured the interest of the public in its work, and which is generally regarded as performing useful services for the common good, will find much less difficulty in obtaining co-operation in a particular project than will an authority which is feared, suspected, or at loggerheads with the community.

To-day, I would suggest, local authorities may be divided, broadly, into three classes. In the first class are those which are "popular" in their communities. The people as a whole recognise that they are doing the best they can do for the good of the locality

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and its inhabitants. They are respected, trusted, and regarded as efficiently carrying out popular desires within the financial and legal limitations imposed upon them.

In the second class are those which are unpopular. Large numbers of the people mistrust or despise them. They are accused of squandermania, graft, nepotism, class prejudice, undue secretiveness, political axe-grinding and other vices. They are the constant butt of criticism in the Press, in public meetings, and in private conversation. Their actions are constantly misinterpreted and there is continuous agitation, open or covert, against them. Between these two, and probably in the majority, is the third class of authorities, whose activities are largely ignored by the public and to whose work, apart from the collection of rates, it remains, as a whole, indifferent.

Authorities in the first group will, as a rule, find little difficulty in securing public co-operation. In the case of those in the second, appeals for co-operation will be actively resented; in the case of those in the third, such appeals will be ignored.

How are these difficulties to be overcome? In my view it can be done only by the adoption by every local authority of a deliberate, planned, and far-reaching policy of public relations. And, since the primary cause of hostility or indifference towards local government is ignorance, that policy must be largely one of education.

The public must be *convinced* that local government is democratic and exists solely for the common good. They must be made aware of the enormous range and value of the services performed by local authorities. They must be brought to realise that when they pay their rates they are buying essential services and beneficial amenities which, on the whole, are efficiently and economically provided. Above all, they must be brought to understand that local government is their own business, in which they should take an individual and corporate interest and pride.

This can be done only through a *complete* and *popular* system of local government reporting and propaganda, making use of every available vehicle of popular expression. Fundamental points of such a policy are, I suggest:—

1. *Complete frankness between the authority and the public; and*
2. *Acceptance of public criticism as an essential and valuable feature of democratic administration.*

Many local authorities to-day seem to be unduly secretive about their decisions and policies. Much important business is dealt with in committee, with the result that it is not reported in the Press except, perhaps, in a garbled and misleading way. A study of newspaper comment on local government will, I believe, show that this secretive-

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ness is one of the commonest sources of criticism. As a typical example—one among many—I would quote from a leading article in the *Surrey Comet* of January 14. After referring to the fact that, as a result of the initiative of N.A.L.G.O., newspapers in Warwickshire were publishing a series of articles, written by councillors and chief officers, on the work of the county council, it states:

“ Is there not a more effective way of awakening and sustaining interest in county council work? Would it not tend to inspire a larger measure of public confidence if aldermen and councillors themselves did a little less of their work in secret and more in the public eye and studied more towards at least a semblance of businesslike methods? If Warwickshire is anything like Surrey or Middlesex it is not surprising that few know much about the work of the councils and fewer still care. Nearly everything is decided in the secrecy of the committee room, including decisions to spend vast sums of public monies. Open council is mainly devoted once a month, and for a few brief hours only, to automatically registering approval of page after page of minutes, many of which not even some aldermen and councillors are able to understand.”

Whatever justification there may be for secrecy in a particular instance, its effects, I suggest, are likely to be far more damaging to the public attitude towards the council, and consequently to the public's readiness to co-operate in municipal projects, than would be the consequences of unwelcome publicity. The impression is given that the council is acting undemocratically, is engaging in “ shady business ” of some kind, or is anxious to conceal some action contrary to the public desire. That impression may be entirely false, but so long as secrecy is maintained it is inevitable; the ratepayer has no facts upon which he can reach any other conclusion.

I suggest, therefore, that it is impossible for any local authority to maintain the confidence and goodwill of the public—which are essential to satisfactory co-operation—unless it treats the public with complete frankness, explaining its decisions and plans fully, and in language ordinary people can understand. When secrecy is required in the public interest those responsible should go out of their way to explain why it is necessary and should see that it is ended as soon as possible with full disclosure of all the facts.

One of the reasons for this secretive attitude appears to be the sensitiveness of many local authorities to public criticism. Criticism, I feel, should always be welcomed, as a sign of public interest. A locality in which the columns of the Press, the smoke-rooms of the

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clubs and the parlours of the public-houses ring with controversy over the doings of the council is surely far healthier—and is likely to be better governed—than is one in which the council is never mentioned.

Criticism, however, should always be answered. Local authorities seem too fond of allowing their case to go by default, too afraid of “starting a row”—when a row is one of the most effective means of arousing local interest. Every authority should authorise a member or an officer to defend its policies in public and reply to attacks upon them. The Press, I believe, would welcome such replies—as witness this comment from a Lancashire paper which has, for some time, been severely critical of the local council:

“From time to time the activities of local officials are subject to criticism in our correspondence columns and we suggest that the council should urge the officials to reply to the allegations. We shall always be pleased to publish the case that the officials can make out for the action they take and we believe it would be in the interest of the officials if their replies were given publicity, because allegations which go unanswered may do harm to the district which all wish to serve to the best of their ability. Silence is not always golden”

But the abandonment of secretive methods and the encouragement of public controversy are, by themselves, not enough to secure public co-operation. Reports of council meetings, while possibly adequate in the serener days of the past, are insufficient in these days of more exciting distractions. Local authorities seeking public support must be able to compete with the more strident appeals with which our ears and eyes are assailed to-day. To do this demands the adoption of a technique and system of public relations.

Mr. C. G. Browne, in his paper, has surveyed the machinery of public relations and the media it would employ in conveying the aims, policies, decisions, and desires of the local authority to the public—Press, poster, film, radio, exhibition, handbook, leaflet, and so on—and I do not propose to duplicate what he has said. Instead, I feel that it might be useful to sketch the outline of what would, I believe, be an efficient public relations organisation for a local authority, and to suggest how it might set to work to secure the co-operation of the public in carrying out a particular project.

At the head of the organisation would be a special public relations committee of the council. In view of the fact that local government officers, through N.A.L.G.O. headquarters and branches, are already carrying out an ambitious public relations programme on behalf of local government generally, this committee might well be a joint one of councillors and officers. A number of local authorities have

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already formed joint committees of this type and they are doing most useful work.

On the council side of the joint committee would be the mayor or chairman of the council, the chairmen of the committees most intimately concerned with the public, and any other members of the council particularly interested in the committee's work. On the officers' side would be the members of the local N.A.L.G.O. public relations committee together with such chief officers as were likely to be affected by its work.

The committee would appoint a public relations officer to carry out its decisions and arrange for propaganda campaigns through the Press and by poster, film, wireless talks, lectures, public meetings, the publication of leaflets, and in other ways. In the case of a large authority he would devote his whole time to the work. In a smaller authority he would be authorised to devote to it as much time as was necessary. It might well be found that the most suitable official for the post was the public relations officer already appointed by the local branch of N.A.L.G.O., and who had gained experience in the principles and methods of the work.

Among the duties of the public relations officer would be:—

1. The maintenance of good relations with the Press and the supply to its representatives of full information regarding the council's policy, activities, and plans.
2. The arranging of exhibitions, civic weeks, jubilee and centenary celebrations, and similar functions designed to extend public knowledge of, and interest in, the work of the authority.
3. The production and exhibition of films, booklets, leaflets, posters, and other material showing what the authority was doing.
4. The organisation of lectures, meetings, talks, debates, lessons in schools, visits by children and adults to council meetings and municipal institutions, and similar activities.
5. The creation of a municipal information bureau.
6. The handling (in consultation with the departments involved) of all complaints, criticisms, and requests, made by individual rate-payers, by associations and groups, and by newspapers.

With an organisation of this type it should be a relatively simple matter for a progressive local authority to secure the co-operation of the public in any particular project.

SPECIMEN PLAN OF CAMPAIGN

To illustrate how it would work I shall now outline a specimen plan of campaign which could be applied to schemes of many kinds,

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from air raid precautions or billeting to the abolition of street litter or the destruction of vermin and insect pests.

1. Preparation

When the council is considering adopting an important new scheme its plans and the objects of the scheme should be explained to the public at the earliest possible moment. This will give an opportunity for interest to be created, opinion to crystallise, and opposition to show itself and be dealt with, either by modifying the scheme to meet it or by answering the arguments of the critics.

If the scheme is a big one the preliminary announcement should, if practicable, be made on an occasion of importance, for example at a public dinner, and by the mayor or chairman of the council. The Press should be informed in advance that the announcement is to be made, and provided with verbatim copies of the speech, which should be clear, frank, full, and interesting. For this reason it is essential that the person making the announcement should be adequately briefed, and it is advisable that the public relations officer should either prepare the statement himself, or be given an opportunity of suggesting amendments if necessary. A good public relations officer will be in close touch with the Press and with public opinion, and will know which points need stressing, which need clearer phrasing, which are of public interest, and which should be omitted or curtailed because they are too technical.

On the day following the preliminary announcement a Press conference should be held, attended by members of the council and officials responsible for the scheme, at which Press representatives should be invited to put questions arising out of it. Such questions should be answered fully and frankly. If necessary the Press can be told that certain information is not for publication—but it should always be given. The importance of this will be emphasised later in a more detailed reference to the technique of the Press conference.

2. Maintenance of Interest

Between the preliminary announcement of the scheme and its adoption by the council everything possible should be done to maintain and increase the interest aroused by the preliminary announcement. This can be done by the frequent release to the Press of news items describing its progress in committee, by the arranging of interviews with leading members of the council, by mention of it in talks, lectures, and public speeches, by the preparation of articles describing the operation of similar schemes in other towns, by public discussion in the correspondence columns of local newspapers—which can be “staged” by the public relations officer, who might

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arrange for a series of letters setting forth the pros and cons—and by leading articles, the material and arguments for which might be supplied by the public relations officer.

3. Adoption.

If the work of preparation has been effectively performed the formal adoption of the scheme will be given ample publicity, and the council's debate upon it is likely to be fully reported. Care should be taken to ensure that the most is made of the publicity value of the debate; that is to say, the public relations officer should be able to ensure that any points not yet clear to the public, or which have been strongly criticised, should be emphasised by the scheme's supporters. After the debate another opportunity should be given to the Press to ask questions or obtain interviews.

4. Direct Approach to Public.

By this time the scheme will have been adopted and large numbers of ratepayers will know a good deal about it. The next stage will be a direct approach to all likely to be affected by it and whose support and co-operation will be required in carrying it out.

This can be done by the holding of special meetings of ratepayers, by the dispatch to them of friendly, interesting, and clearly-written letters, by the use of posters, by leaflets enclosed with rate demand notes and gas, electricity, and water accounts, and by the issue of news paragraphs and photographs illustrating the progress of the scheme.

In certain cases—as, for example, in slum clearance schemes—it would be advisable for councillors or experienced officers to make personal visits to the ratepayers affected, listen to any grievances they have, and discuss the whole position with them in a friendly way. This evidence of interest and desire to help will create goodwill and will do much to end hostility based on inadequate knowledge or understanding. Much of the difficulty created by the compulsory disinfection of the clothing and furniture of persons removed from slum clearance areas to new housing estates—difficulty which has, I believe, aroused great hostility in some areas, with consequent evasion or relaxation of disinfection measures, and the introduction of vermin into new houses—might have been avoided by measures such as these.

5. Thanks to Public.

At some suitable stage in the campaign the thanks of the council should be expressed to members of the public for their co-operation, and they should be informed of the way in which they had contributed

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to the good of the community. If possible, this should be done in the form of a personal letter to each ratepayer from the mayor or chairman of the council or, if this would be too costly, in a public statement. Such a courtesy would be appreciated by the ratepayers, who would feel that they had been performing a public service, and would be readier to co-operate on future occasions.

The above outline of a propaganda campaign is, of course, a specimen only, and would require considerable modification when applied to particular schemes. It may, for example, be desirable to postpone the first announcement until after the scheme has been formally adopted. Many of the propaganda methods suggested would be unnecessarily elaborate for particular projects in particular areas. But I am convinced that the basic principles of extensive publicity, adequate preparation, creation and maintenance of interest, friendly approach, and the meeting of criticism either by modification of the scheme or by fuller explanation of its purpose and benefits, are applicable to every action by local authorities requiring public co-operation, and would, if adopted, greatly improve the relations between the authority and the community it serves, to the benefit of both.

Many of the public relations methods outlined above are, of course, in use to-day, and most could be adopted, without the creation of the suggested organisation of public relations committee and public relations officer. It may be useful to examine some of them in greater detail.

THE PRESS CONFERENCE

It should be one of the duties of every chief official of a local authority and, of course, of the public relations officer where there is one, to cultivate good relations with the Press, as the first and most important means of contact between the authority and the public.

Although in most large towns newspaper representatives are regular visitors to the town hall they are not always as welcome as they might be. In many places, I am afraid, the attitude of councillors and officials alike is similar to that described by Lady Mary Pakenham when recording her experience as a newspaper reporter.

"One morning," she writes, "I spent trying to get a 'story' about some new swimming bath there had been trouble over. . . . When I was in the waiting room of the council building a young clerk put his head round the door and said, '237 for seven wickets. I thought you'd like to know.' Then the head surveyor came in, a large red-faced man with false teeth. 'They've sent

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us a woman,' he said, 'I wish yer was a man, then I could throw yer out!'"

It must be admitted that the Press has only itself to blame for much of the hostility of officials towards it. The growing sensationalism and preoccupation with so-called "human interest"—which generally means trivialities—of a section of the Press has had its effect on the reporting of municipal affairs. "Rows" in council meetings, alleged scandals, suggestions of corruption and nepotism, receive exaggerated prominence, while the more important aspects of local administration are inadequately, and sometimes inaccurately, reported. In these circumstances officers and councillors have, not unnaturally, grown shy of the Press, and a state of mutual antagonism has developed.

Nevertheless, I do not feel that the Press is alone to blame for this unfortunate state of affairs. Local authorities must share the responsibility, for, by their policy of secretiveness and their dislike of criticism, they have made it difficult for newspapers to obtain the news they seek. Some authorities, I believe, have gone so far as to forbid all their officials to give information to the Press. This, I feel, is a mistake. For if an editor knows that there is news to be had in the town hall he will get it—by fair means or foul. That is his job. And if a chief official refuses to supply a reporter with accurate information, thereby compelling him to obtain it by underground means, can he fairly blame the reporter if the result is garbled and inaccurate?

In my view the best way to overcome this real problem is the Press Conference, already adopted by most Government departments and by many of the larger local authorities. Its working in local government can best be described in the words of a town clerk who told me of his own system some time ago. He wrote:

"In a comparatively small town with a population of only 37,000 the Press know the members of the council intimately, and I came to the conclusion that, unless there was some system of giving interesting but innocuous information to the Press, it was likely that they would search out the members of the various committees and endeavour to get information from them.

"There were three local papers in the town, all of which came out either on the late Thursday evening or early Friday morning. I was particularly anxious to be fair to the three papers, and to give each of them the same information, and I therefore suggested to the editors concerned that representatives should meet me at two o'clock every Thursday. I used this meeting as an opportunity not only of giving the Press information, but very often of gleaning

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information as to matters being discussed in the town and opinions being expressed on local government generally. The Press apparently welcomed the confidence thus reposed in them and I, in turn, found that if I asked them not to disclose anything likely to be prejudicial to the Corporation, notwithstanding that they had heard rumours of such matters, they invariably kept silent until I was able to assure them that the matter would not adversely affect the authority

" I had very friendly co-operation from the Press. At the same time I always made it clear to them that I should never regard any constructive criticism in the newspapers as something to which I was opposed, and that such criticism would not in any way interfere with our weekly conversations."

To obtain the other side of the picture I sought the views of the chief reporter of one of the newspapers concerned. He wrote:

" The relationships between the Press here and the chief corporation official have never been on a better footing than during the past six years. When the town clerk took up his duties he suggested that the representatives of the three local newspapers should see him simultaneously each week for municipal news.

" Consequently, each Thursday afternoon, the three reporters presented themselves at his office and he gave them such news from the committee minutes as he thought of public interest. He also informed them of impending municipal happenings, answered questions, advised them as to the opportune time when publicity of other matters of importance to the town could be given, and generally was very helpful.

" In addition to the collective system of giving information, he also was ever ready to help when approached by an individual pressman who wanted some exclusive information. In many ways the mutual understanding between the town clerk and the Press proved beneficial to each. On many occasions the reporters secured information which, if published when perhaps negotiations had reached a delicate stage, might not have served the interests of the town. In those circumstances, they were always willing to accept the advice of the town clerk.

" The success of the arrangement has been brought about by mutual confidence and a co-operative spirit. The value of the weekly conference can be gauged from the town clerk's words on the occasion of the presentation made to him by the local journalists on his departure for another post. He said: ' I know that at times difficulties arise regarding what should be made public and what should not and a big responsibility sometimes

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rests with the newspapers. In my association with you, whenever I have had any doubt, I have placed the whole of the facts before you and asked you to treat the news in the best interest of the town. Not once have you let me down. I have regarded the Press representatives as personal friends, not as weekly visitors in search of news.' "

If I may seem to have laboured this question of relations with the Press it is because, as a former journalist and as one now engaged in attempting to arouse a greater public interest in local government, I regard it as of cardinal importance. In my view no local authority can hope to secure the fullest co-operation of the public in any schemes without first obtaining the co-operation of the Press.

Where the Press Conference system is adopted, the conference should always be held at the time most convenient to the Press. It would be useless to expect an evening paper to give prominence to news given it late in the afternoon, when the last edition is "going to bed," or to expect a weekly paper to devote much space to material handed to it on publication day with six days to wait for the next number. This is an obvious point—yet it is one often overlooked by municipal officers. Whether this system is adopted or not, I would like to suggest a number of important points in dealing with the Press.

1. Give newspaper representatives *all* the information available and answer *all* questions fully and frankly. Much of what you say may be confidential—what the Americans call "off the record." Good reporters and editors do not abuse confidences; they realise that it is not worth their while to do so. An unprincipled journalist might get one "scoop"—but it would be his last. And statement of the full facts, even when not for publication, would ensure that comment was informed and, where needful, restrained. Nothing excites a journalist more than the knowledge that something is being kept from him. On the other hand, the reposing of confidence in him will ensure his support.

2. Avoid all suggestion of favouritism. Treat every paper alike—those that abuse you with those that support you. It is the surest way of disarming criticism, as the opposite method, of keeping special tidbits of news for your friends, would be the surest way of strengthening the hostility of your critics. By that, of course, I do not mean that you must give the same information to all papers. Where a journalist goes out of his way to obtain information which others do not trouble to seek he deserves the reward of his enterprise.

3. Whenever possible circulate important statements, speeches, etc., in advance. It saves the reporter trouble, thus earning his

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gratitude, ensures an accurate report (for not all speakers are audible and not all reporters perfect) and by enabling the "copy" to reach the newspaper in good time, before the pages are filled, frequently secures a much fuller report.

4. Adapt your Press releases to the newspapers to which they are issued. No two newspapers have the same method of treatment: what would be appropriate for the *Manchester Guardian* would not be appropriate to the *Daily Mirror* and vice versa, yet both serve a useful purpose if correctly handled. The argument applies equally to the Provincial Press, with which local authorities have the closest contact.

PERSONAL STATEMENTS AND PRESS INTERVIEWS

These, whether made by the mayor, a councillor, or a chief officer, are frequently the most effective of all means of approaching the public. A man will listen to, or read, a personal statement when he would not look at a formal report. A good example of the personal statement was the broadcast by Alderman Lipton of Lambeth, on January 4, after the heavy snow in London. There had been much public criticism of local authorities for not clearing the snow and slush more rapidly from the streets. Alderman Lipton explained the immensity of the problem, described what had been done, gave details of the cost and provided a conclusive answer to the critics—who would, of course, have been the first to complain of a big increase in the rates on account of snow clearance.

Personal statements must be simple, clear, and frank—and the right person must be chosen to make them. A mumbled, incoherent, evasive statement would do more harm than good.

HANDBOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

These are of value if efficiently got out. Most of those now published by local authorities are dull and unimaginative publications, filled with bleak tables of statistics and pedantic accounts of the work of the various departments, illustrated with lifeless photographs of municipal buildings, badly printed, and of forbidding appearance.

A real municipal handbook would give the interesting facts about the authority's work in graphic and simple language, present its statistics whenever possible in readily comprehended pictorial form, contain well-written articles on the policy, aims, and plans of the council, and be profusely illustrated with good, lively photographs. It would be a book the most apathetic ratepayer would read with interest and profit—not a book that is unlikely to get beyond the

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reference room of the public library. It might be well worth making the experiment of engaging a local journalist to write—or at least to sub-edit—the whole of the material, instructing him to cast it in the most attractive form possible, consistent with accuracy. Such a document should bring out the dramatic qualities of local government work—its ceaseless fight with disease, poverty, dirt, and crime, its gallant struggle, in many areas, to bring culture, good taste, and happiness into drab communities, its watch over the welfare of its inhabitants from the cradle to the grave. Every department is filled with material of real human interest for the gifted pen; the human salvage work of public assistance; the humours and triumphs of the education and juvenile employment departments; the curious problems of public habit and prejudice revealed to the transport department. Even refuse disposal has its romance in our big cities, where dustbins are made to yield valuable by-products and the bacterial treatment of sewage could be made the subject of a fascinating article. An excellent example is the booklet issued by the Manchester Cleansing Department, in which the principle and method of controlled tipping are presented in a really fascinating manner.

DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE RATEPAYER

Most local authorities, I feel, need drastically to overhaul all their points of contact with the ratepayer. With too many, I am afraid the words "authority" and "government" are the operative ones in their relations with the public; they tend to rely too much on their mandatory powers. This was possibly appropriate a hundred years ago, when the main function of local administration was the compulsory abatement of nuisances. It is far from appropriate today, when that function has been largely replaced by the conception of public service, in which the needs and desires of the ratepayer are paramount, and which cannot succeed without his active co-operation.

Although most councillors and officials no doubt regard themselves to-day as servants of the public rather than as civilian sergeant-majors, whose task is to give orders and see that they are carried out, municipal practice still lags behind that excellent precept. Measures required to bring it into line with modern democratic ideas include, I suggest, the following:

(a) Drastic revision of official documents and correspondence. Documents should, so far as possible, avoid the imperative note. Why, for example, must borough treasurers "demand" the rates in a form calculated to arouse the anger of the average ratepayer? The butcher and baker do not "demand" payment of their accounts, to which they are just as much entitled. Would not a

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friendly letter informing the ratepayer that his account is now due, describing the services provided out of the rates and showing him how cheaply they are provided and what good value he obtains for his money, be likely to create a more co-operative attitude? It would be interesting to see the results of an experiment on these lines.

The same criticism applies to a large number of official notices. "Please help us to keep your city tidy and use the litter boxes," is surely more effective than "Do not deposit litter. Penalty £2. By Order." Where the former calls upon constructive civic pride, the latter merely arouses a natural resistance to arbitrary authority.

Most official documents and correspondence are phrased in too formal and stereotyped language. Clerks can be trained to write in clear, simple, and courteous English as readily as they are taught to-day to write in official jargon.

Local government statistics should be set out much more clearly than they are at present. The ratepayer should be shown, in terms he can understand, exactly what he gets in return for his rates, and what each service costs him per week. It should be remembered that pictures are much more effective than figures, which convey little to large numbers of people.

(b) Reception of the Ratepayers. Everything possible should be done to make a ratepayer's visit to a municipal office as friendly and speedy a business as possible. To achieve this, all departments having daily contact with the public should be centralised—the ratepayer should not have to go to one building to pay his rates, to another, half-a-mile away, to pay his electricity bill, and to a third to apply for a licence. Every municipal office should have one or more "reception clerks" whose task would be to receive members of the public and answer their inquiries or, if they are unable to do that personally, conduct them to an officer who can. The reception of the ratepayer is far too important to be left to the office boy. Personal experience and impressions can do much good—and enormous harm.

(c) Information Bureau. Every large authority should have a municipal information bureau, situated in a readily accessible site, preferably at the town hall or council offices. This bureau—which might be run in collaboration with the public library—should be capable of answering all questions and solving all problems put to it by ratepayers and visitors to the town—how to get a trader's licence, a Corporation house, or a divorce; where to find a particular service or shop; what to do about troublesome neighbours and smoky chimneys.

(d) Training the Officer. All officers coming into contact with the public should receive some training in popular psychology and the

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technique of tactful approach. Staffs of local authorities, down to the lowest grades, should be encouraged to take a real pride in their work and to adopt a service rather than a departmental outlook. N.A.L.G.O. is already working to inculcate this attitude through its education and public relations policies, but to succeed it requires the support of local authorities themselves.

I am conscious that some readers of this paper may feel that I have strayed far and erratically from my subject. But I am convinced that all I have said is relevant to it; that it will be impossible for any authority to secure the full co-operation of the public, even in such apparently trivial matters as the disposal of bus tickets and the avoidance of fouling of footpaths by dogs, without first adopting a comprehensive policy of public relations which will bring about understanding and goodwill between the authority and the community it serves.

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II—The Lord Advocate's Department and the Criminal Courts

By J. S. C. REID, K.C., M.P.,
Solicitor-General for Scotland.

MY present object is to give you some account of the present position and duties of the Lord Advocate and the Solicitor-General for Scotland and to give you an outline of the manner in which the system of prosecuting crime in Scotland is carried on. Sir John Jeffrey has already given you an outline of the history of the development of the Lord Advocate's position and I will therefore restrict myself to the present.

The Lord Advocate is directly responsible to the Prime Minister although, of course, he works in close conjunction with the Secretary of State and the Scottish Office. He is almost invariably a Member of Parliament and is answerable in Parliament for the proper performance of his duties. The Solicitor-General is the deputy of the Lord Advocate, and his only important independent function is to attend upon the Lord High Commissioner during the General Assembly. The Solicitor-General is more often than not a Member of Parliament, and for reasons that I need not elaborate I think that it is desirable that he should be such.

Our work is divided between London and Edinburgh and I will first indicate to you the scope of our duties in London. The Lord Advocate's Department there is housed in Dover House and there are permanently stationed in London his legal secretary and assistant legal secretary, whose appointments are whole-time and permanent. It is generally necessary, when Parliament is sitting, that either the Lord Advocate or the Solicitor-General should be in London and it is frequently necessary that both should be there. Owing to the great development of the committee system in the House of Commons, there are frequently two or more committees sitting on which it is desirable to have one of the Scottish law officers as a member because

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there are many United Kingdom Bills which raise questions where Scottish legal assistance is desirable. One of the many duties of the Lord Advocate in London is to consider the drafting of the legal parts of Scottish Bills and the application of United Kingdom Bills to Scotland, and, of course, this entails close collaboration with the Scottish Office and frequently with other departments. The Lord Advocate is also frequently consulted as the legal adviser of the Scottish Office on many administrative problems.

The Lord Advocate's duties in Edinburgh include a wide range of questions of civil law as well as the prosecution of crime. The Lord Advocate and Solicitor-General are frequently called upon to give opinions to departments on questions of law and are responsible for the conduct of all cases in the Court of Session to which any Government department is a party. Indeed, most actions raised on behalf of Government departments are raised in the name of the Lord Advocate. Accordingly, the Lord Advocate or Solicitor-General whenever possible appears as senior counsel in Court in any case of importance to which a department is a party. This applies not merely to purely Scottish departments, but also to very numerous cases which concern the Inland Revenue and to the less frequent cases which concern other departments, such as the War Office or the Post Office.

I come now to what is perhaps the oldest and the most important function of the Lord Advocate, namely, the supervision and conduct of criminal prosecutions. As you are probably aware, there is practically no private prosecution in Scotland. It is possible, if the Lord Advocate refuses to prosecute, for the person aggrieved to apply to the Court for leave to prosecute, but I think only one case of this character has occurred in the last century. I should add that in the inferior Courts there are cases where prosecutions are conducted independently of the Lord Advocate. These are mostly cases such as those under the Factories Acts and Food and Drugs Acts, where an inspector or some other person acting in the public interest is entitled under statute to prosecute, but, of course, in such cases the Lord Advocate is frequently consulted by the department which has the right to conduct the prosecution. There are very few cases even in the inferior Courts where a private individual has a statutory right to carry on a prosecution.

The Lord Advocate's duties in connection with the prosecution of crime are carried out through the Crown Office. In this office there are four Advocates Depute and also an extra Advocate Depute and a Sheriff Court Advocate Depute who are members of the Bar and hold office at the Lord Advocate's pleasure; in practice they go out with the Government. The same applies to the Crown Agent who

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is a solicitor of high standing appointed to be administrative head of the office. All these appointments are part-time appointments although the duties nowadays are heavy. The permanent staff consists of a Principal Clerk and a number of other clerks.

The Lord Advocate is also responsible for the procurator-fiscal service. There are throughout Scotland procurators-fiscal who conduct prosecutions in the Sheriff Courts, and, as I shall explain later, make inquiries locally into crimes and other matters. In the large cities the procurator-fiscal's office is a large one and he has a number of deputes and assistants, while in the smaller towns he may only require a very small staff. The majority of the procurators-fiscal (26) are whole-time officials, but there are a number of smaller places where the volume of work is not large and where a local solicitor is appointed as a part-time procurator-fiscal. I think there are 19 part-time fiscals.

I should now explain how this organisation works. Let me first take a serious crime appropriate for trial in the High Court. The police in the course of their duties obtain information regarding the crime and perhaps arrest the alleged criminal. Their information is reported at an early stage to the procurator-fiscal who thereafter is responsible for the collection of the necessary evidence to be adduced at the trial, for the procurator-fiscal interviews and takes precognitions or statements from all whom he thinks may be able to assist as witnesses. He forwards these precognitions with his report to the Crown Office and one of the Advocates Depute draws up the indictment after making further inquiries of the procurator-fiscal or after consultation with him in any case where that seems necessary. The case is then ready for trial. The High Court of Justiciary sits in Edinburgh and also in a number of towns on circuit. There are generally six circuits each year in Glasgow and normally two in a number of other towns, but in such towns as, say, Inveraray or Jedburgh it is frequently unnecessary to have a circuit for a long period. If the case is tried in Edinburgh, not infrequently the Lord Advocate or the Solicitor-General acts as counsel for the Crown, but if the case is tried on circuit, it is usual for an Advocate Depute to conduct the case. In Glasgow two Courts generally sit and the extra Advocate Depute is solely concerned with circuit work in Glasgow.

It would be beyond the scope of this talk to describe Court procedure, but I should draw attention to two safeguards which prevent injustice. In the first place, no untried prisoner can be kept in prison for more than 110 days, and, in practice, the great majority of those who are not released on bail, are tried well within that period. In the second place, it has always been regarded as the duty of any prosecutor in Scotland to bring out the whole facts

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known to him whether those facts are against or in favour of the accused, and I think I may claim that there is no feature of our procedure which tends in any way to be unfair to accused persons.

The only crimes which are tried in the High Court are murder, rape, and those of a serious character which being brought home to the accused would warrant a sentence of penal servitude or of a considerable term of imprisonment. These crimes are, of course, a small minority of all the crimes and offences committed in Scotland, and I should now go on to explain to you how less serious cases are dealt with. There are two methods of prosecuting these cases. They may be tried by Sheriff and jury or they may be tried summarily. Speaking generally, the procedure before a Sheriff and jury is the same "solemn" procedure as that followed in the High Court, but the prosecution in the Sheriff Court is generally conducted by the procurator-fiscal. In cases where the Lord Advocate thinks it desirable, he instructs the Sheriff Court Advocate Depute to conduct the prosecution. The initial stages in these cases are the same as those in cases which are tried in the High Court and when the case for prosecution is reported to the Crown Office, the Advocate Depute who deals with the matters decides if the case is appropriate for trial by Sheriff and jury instead of in the High Court. It is frequently difficult to decide which is the appropriate method of prosecution and all cases of difficulty are referred to the Solicitor-General or Lord Advocate for his decision.

For long there was no appeal of any sort from a conviction in the High Court, but in 1926 the Court of Criminal Appeal was established and any person convicted either in the High Court or before a Sheriff and jury can appeal to the Court of Criminal Appeal on various grounds. The case cannot, of course, be re-tried and the jury's verdict is final on fact, but the scope of the appeal is fairly wide and a considerable number of appeals is disposed of every year.

You will accordingly observe that in Scotland there is no such procedure as the inquiry before the magistrates in England. You will also be aware that there is no coroner's inquest in Scotland. All sudden deaths are inquired into by the procurator-fiscal and many of these are reported by him to the Crown Office. In some cases fatal accident inquiries are held but the responsibility for taking criminal proceedings either in respect of a death which has been reported, or of information supplied by the police with regard to other crimes, rests solely with the Lord Advocate, and in all cases of special difficulty the Lord Advocate personally decides whether proceedings are to be taken, and, if so, of what character.

I must now describe very shortly how minor offences are disposed of. They are tried summarily without a jury, the maximum penalty

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being three months' imprisonment, or in the case of statutory offences such other penalty as the statute may prescribe. Many statutory offences are of a very minor character, the maximum penalty prescribed by the statute being a comparatively small fine. Here again there is no appeal on questions of fact, but questions of law may be, and frequently are, taken to the High Court for decision.

There are three Courts in which summary proceedings can be taken. Some cases of relatively minor importance are taken before the justices of the peace and these cases are prosecuted by the justices' fiscal who is not directly responsible to the Lord Advocate. In burghs a large number of cases are disposed of by the burgh magistrates or bailies who, as you know, are elected members of the Town Council. These cases are prosecuted by the burgh fiscal who again is not directly responsible to the Lord Advocate, but the great majority of cases of importance are heard by the Sheriff-Substitute and in these cases the prosecutor is the procurator-fiscal over whom the Lord Advocate has complete control. Of course, the great majority of these cases are straightforward and the fiscal neither seeks nor requires assistance, but whenever any difficulty, either of fact or of law, emerges, the fiscal can and does consult Crown counsel in the Crown Office and in this way uniformity of practice is achieved.

Juveniles are dealt with separately. There is power to set up in each area a special Juvenile Court in which cases are heard by a Court selected from a special panel of justices of the peace. This power has not yet been widely adopted, and in most areas juveniles are dealt with at special sittings of the ordinary Courts. The question of appropriate punishment for juveniles raises issues beyond the scope of this talk.

In conclusion, I should say a word about the various punishments which can be inflicted on adults by these various Courts. These punishments vary from death in case of murder, to admonition in case of triviality. The prosecutor takes no part in connection with any sentence. He moves for sentence when a verdict of guilty is returned but it has not been the practice for him to suggest what sentence should be, that being a matter solely for the Court. The Court of Criminal Appeal can vary sentences as well as quash convictions and in the last resort it is open to any person sentenced to appeal to the Secretary of State for the exercise of the Royal prerogative of mercy.

Apart from death, which is only inflicted in cases of murder, the most severe punishment is penal servitude which must be inflicted for a minimum period of three years and may be for life. This punishment can only be inflicted by the High Court of Justiciary and not by a Sheriff. The next most severe punishment is imprison-

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ment, which may be for any period from five days up to two years. As I have explained, a Sheriff trying a case without a jury can generally only inflict a maximum of three months' imprisonment, but if the case is tried by a Sheriff and jury, the Sheriff may pronounce the sentence up to two years' imprisonment. The great majority of cases are met by a fine with the option of imprisonment if it is not paid. In most cases there is no difficulty about the fine being paid, but difficulties have not infrequently occurred where the accused has no immediate resources and considerable reforms have recently been introduced enabling time to be given for payment of fines or the fine to be paid by instalments.

I have now dealt with all the important matters which come within the scope of the Lord Advocate's duties. I am afraid that the account has been somewhat scrappy, but owing to the miscellaneous character of these duties that was really unavoidable. As is the case of so many of our institutions, there may be theoretical objections to the manner in which they are constituted, but in practice they work well; and I think that I can claim that this applies to the office of the Lord Advocate and to the conduct of prosecutions in Scotland.

I might say a word in conclusion on the administrative organisation in connection with the work of the Courts. This organisation includes clerks of Court, sheriff-clerks, judges' clerks and many others. Formerly the methods of appointment and tenure and conditions of employment varied very greatly, but there have recently been great changes in the direction of organising these staffs on a Civil Service basis. Without giving some explanation of the functions and duties of the civil Courts—which I have no time to do—I cannot give you any accurate picture of the present position of these staffs or of the varied technical and responsible duties which they perform. I will only mention some examples of recent changes in their position. Since 1927 the whole-time services of sheriff-clerks have been organised on a Civil Service basis; and an Act of 1933 reorganised the clerical staff of the Court of Session and placed all appointments in the hands of the Secretary of State, acting in consultation with the Lord President. Judges' clerks, formerly holding their posts at the pleasure of the judges, are now part of the permanent staff of the Court and eligible for promotion to higher posts. There are thus growing up for the service of the Courts staffs which in status in many ways resemble the staffs of executive departments.

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The Office of the Secretary of State for Scotland

By P. J. ROSE, C.B.,

Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Scotland

IT was a great pleasure to accept your invitation to speak about the work of the Secretary of State's Department. My chief difficulty has been to compress my remarks into the space of 20 minutes.

In order to do so, I have adopted the plan of giving you a commentary on a descriptive statement for which I am largely indebted to my colleagues in the Office. Fuller details are given in an Appendix to the Gilmour Report.

No such catalogue, however, can be comprehensive; for example, an event like the Empire Exhibition first reaches the Scottish Office as a tentative idea seeking encouragement. It grows into a definite scheme, which receives a "blessing" and money for the Government and Scottish Pavilions, and so on. Such work cannot be foreseen or catalogued.

A Department which touches the national life at many points cannot succeed as an impersonal machine. Much of the information, understanding, co-operation, and good will which it requires comes through casual meetings or conversations, not through formal machinery. Therefore these imponderable elements must be added to any written statement of the work of the Scottish Office.

My remarks to-day will take the form of comments on the statement of functions to which I have referred, and it may perhaps be of interest to note the dates at which the main functions began; some are ancient, others are very recent.

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I shall confine myself to the Scottish Office as it is and has been in the past, leaving out any reference to administrative changes contemplated by the Bill now before Parliament.

The existing Scottish Office began in 1885 with a staff of seven officers. It now has a staff of 115 officers (excluding typists), of whom 37 are stationed in Edinburgh; and its work has grown in proportion.

The functions of an old public department are very like a river which begins as a little stream and steadily grows in volume as new tributaries flow in.

The Scottish Office river has the peculiarity that, after running above ground before the Union and from 1707 till 1725 (during which period the office of the Secretary of State for Scotland existed), it disappeared with the suppression of that office until 1731. Revival brought it to the surface again from 1731 to 1746, and then from 1746 till 1885 its waters were lost in those of the Home Secretary and the Lord Advocate. In 1885 Lord Rosebery carried through the Secretary for Scotland Act and the river flowed again in a channel of its own, designated the Scottish Office. The Minister himself became a Secretary of State in 1926.

Lord Rosebery's part in the Act of 1885 once caused me some embarrassment. A high-spirited Scotswoman (Lady Frances Balfour) asked me to tell her the date at which Lord Rosebery became Secretary for Scotland, and when I replied that he never held the office, she told me that my ignorance made me unfit for my job. She subsequently withdrew very handsomely, explaining that she was misled by hearing her father, the Duke of Argyll, say that "The Tories always said the office was created to make a post for Lord Rosebery." It is a pity that the Tories' fears were not realised by the appointment of his lordship.

After this digression let us look at the Scottish Office in 1938. Its work is organised in five Divisions and I propose to take them one by one.

It is convenient to begin with the Division whose main subjects are the Royal Prerogative of Mercy, Prisons, and Police. These are all "ancient" subjects in the sense that they have been part of the work of the Scottish Office since its creation or at any rate since 1887 when the original transfer of powers from the Home Office was augmented. The Secretary of State advises the Crown on the exercise of the Royal Prerogative of Mercy in cases great and small. The Prerogative itself has its origins in the remote past. The power to pardon is inherent in the idea of kingship although perhaps in early times its exercise was rather sparing and arbitrary. The Secretary of State's duty of advising the Crown in this matter no

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doubt dates from the inception of constitutional government some 200 years ago. This function of the Secretary of State remains substantially as it was in 1887. There has, however, been an increased volume of work arising largely from a deeper interest in convicted persons. Another development was the passing of the Criminal Appeal (Scotland) Act, 1926, which gave a right of appeal to the High Court of Justiciary in the case of persons convicted on indictment. That Act does not affect the Prerogative of Mercy, but it gives the Secretary of State discretion, on the consideration of any petition relating to a conviction on indictment, to refer the whole case to the Court for its determination or to request the opinion of the Court on any point on which he desires assistance.

Under the heading of prisons the Secretary of State is responsible for the administration of prisons, with the aid of the Prisons Department for Scotland, and also for the administration of Borstal institutions and the institutions in which criminal lunatics and State mental defectives are detained.

Some of the powers which the Secretary for Scotland acquired 50 years ago run back to the substitution of penal servitude for transportation in the decade 1850-60. An Act passed in 1853 established the system of licences to convicts to be at large. At that time most of the ordinary prisons belonged to local bodies and not to the Government, but the Secretary for Scotland's predecessors made general rules for their administration. In 1877 these local prisons were transferred to the Government so that the whole system came under direct control. It is noteworthy that even at that time the prison system included visiting committees and approved prisoners' aid societies for the purpose of helping prisoners on their discharge.

At the present time the Secretary of State's powers in regard to prisons rest upon the same statutory structure; but great improvements have been made in the treatment of the prisoners.

His power to establish Borstal institutions was conferred by an Act passed in 1908; and State mental defectives were first accorded special treatment by the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy (Scotland) Act, 1913.

The control and co-operation of the Scottish Office in the work of police forces falls roughly into three parts:—

- (1) Supply—i.e., provision of stations, vehicles, uniforms, etc.
- (2) Establishment—i.e., fixing numbers, pay, conditions of service, etc.
- (3) Operational—i.e., securing the best use of the available police man-power and of new auxiliary methods such as the use

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of motor vehicles to increase mobility. Modern inventions, notably the motor car, have added both to the problems of the police and to the resources available for their solution.

Coupled with all this, of course, is the payment of a grant of 50 per cent. which amounted in 1937-38 to about £1,200,000.

The existing powers of the Secretary of State originated in the Police (Scotland) Act, 1857, which authorised the payment of a contribution by the Treasury on a certificate of efficiency by the Secretary of State. When the Scottish Office began in 1885, and indeed when I entered it in 1902, the police work was a relatively simple affair. The Inspector of Constabulary made visits and reports to ensure that the efficiency of each force was maintained. The work of the Office was mainly to sanction changes in strength and in pay and allowances, and to distribute the grant. Nowadays the work has become vastly more diversified as the police forces have progressed in organisation and methods with the aid and encouragement of the Central Department. New statutory duties have been placed on the Secretary of State by the Police Pensions Acts, the Police Act, 1919, which set up the Police Federation, and the Police (Appeals) Act, 1927, which gave a right of appeal to the Minister in the case of any policeman dismissed or required to resign.

In 1886-87 the approximate amount of the police grant was £150,000. In 1937-38 it was £1,200,000. Comment on the expansion is needless.

Perhaps I may digress here to mention an incident which throws a light on the duties of the Scottish Office in regard to Bills introduced by private Members of Parliament.

In 1911 a Bill of this kind relating to police pensions reached the Lords from the Commons. Its intentions were much better than its drafting and it fell to me to ask the peer in charge (Lord Reay) to move official amendments and further amendments at successive stages. He did so without demur, but as he left my room with the set to be moved on third reading, he turned and asked "Is there a fourth reading to this Bill?" "No," I replied. "I am so glad of that," he said, "because if there had been I am sure the Scottish Office would have had some more amendments." Truly perfection in Acts, as in art, is well-nigh unattainable.

I turn now to another Division of the Scottish Office whose duties are "modern" in the sense that they did not exist, to any material extent, when the Office began 50 years ago.

The main subjects of this Division are fire brigades and measures in connection with emergencies. The fire brigade duties fall into two groups. The first is the emergency fire brigade organisation which includes the examination of local authority air raid fire precautions

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schemes under the Air Raid Precautions Act, 1937, the issue of emergency appliances and equipment, the recruitment and training of auxiliary firemen, and the examination of local authority fire claims for A.R.P. grant. The second group is the permanent fire brigades organisation covering the proper organisation of fire-protection arrangements under the Act passed last session, in order to meet peace-time risks.

The emergency services work involves general co-ordination of Scottish arrangements, liaison with the A.R.P. Department, and the representation of Scottish views in the formulation of general emergency policy, as well as the Scottish application of such policy.

This Division also deals with the Rent Restriction Acts, and with some miscellaneous subjects.

Next I take the Edinburgh Division. It is primarily concerned with the general law relating to local authorities and the machinery of local government as distinct from the law relating to particular services such as public health, housing, etc.

The machinery of local government is large and complicated, and numerous functions are assigned to the Scottish Office as the Central authority under the Local Government Acts, the Burgh Police Acts, and other statutes. Rating, valuation, and general local government finance also come within the purview of this Division. Grants amounting to nearly £7,000,000 are paid annually to local authorities towards the relief of rates in addition to other grants for specific purposes, e.g., police and probation.

Judged by present standards, local government was only in a primitive state when the Scottish Office was created in 1885; and the functions which the Secretary for Scotland inherited were small. Excluding special services like public health, they were chiefly the confirmation of bye-laws, the fixing of boundaries of burghs and populous places, approval of the division of burghs into wards, the collection of local taxation returns and the making of provisional orders for the acquisition of land and for certain other purposes.

This small inheritance has been immensely enlarged by subsequent legislation. In 1889 came the Local Government Act which established County Councils in Scotland. In order to deal with this Act a young man named James Miller Dodds was added to the staff of the Department. He subsequently became one of the line of distinguished Permanent Under-Secretaries and, during his career of 30 years, he probably did more than anyone to build up the fabric of Scottish administration.

After the Act of 1889 there came the Burgh Police Act, 1892, with later amending Acts, further Local Government Acts in 1908

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and 1929, the Town Councils Act, 1900, and last year the Local Government Superannuation Act.

These sets of Acts for the burghs and the counties are like new rivers opening up the country to navigation and development. It must be admitted, however, that the channels have become silted and tortuous so that even experienced navigators are apt to lose their way in them. Because of this a committee, comprising Parliamentary representatives and officials of local authorities and of Departments under the chairmanship of Sir John Jeffrey, has been set up to prepare a Bill to revise and consolidate all the Acts relating to the constitution and machinery of local authorities.

The draft is making good progress, and after the Bill has been passed by Parliament, the task of those who have to interpret the Acts will be materially lightened.

Passing to other subjects, the Edinburgh Office carries through the general work of administration, so far as the Secretary of State is concerned, under the Special Areas Acts, 1934 and 1937. In the same sphere of economic development it has close contact with the Scottish Development Council and the Scottish Travel Association.

New duties have recently been added in connection with the grants for extending facilities for physical training and recreation as part of the National Fitness Campaign.

The duties in relation to children and young offenders reflect the growing attention which has been directed to the welfare of young people during the last 30 or 40 years. On this subject you are to have an address from Mr. Troup and I can leave it in his able hands.

May I add a few words, however, about another "humanitarian" function of the Edinburgh Office, namely, "wild birds." The credit for initiating measures for the protection of wild birds belongs to the mid-Victorian generation. I recall one little instance of the sympathetic interest of Parliament and the public in this subject. In 1904 the life of Mr. Balfour's Government was ebbing and legislation was at a minimum. Nevertheless, Parliament passed in that session an Act to protect one of the smallest of God's creatures—the St. Kilda wren. On its passing, my old chief, Sir Reginald MacLeod of MacLeod, jocularly remarked, "Well, Rose, we have passed one Scottish Act this session."

The next Division of the Office has a mixed bag of important subjects. Passing over such things as parliamentary elections, mental deficiency and lunacy, Highland steamer services, and the marriage laws (which are the subject of current legislation), I will refer specially only to fisheries and private legislation.

The general administration of the fisheries is conducted by the Fishery Board for Scotland. The Secretary of State is responsible

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for the confirmation of bye-laws made by the Board under various regulatory statutes and for general supervision of policy.

The Secretary derived these general powers by transfer from other Departments in 1885. Since that date numerous Acts have been passed dealing with changing conditions in the fisheries, notably the development of trawling by means of vessels with constantly increasing power and range of action. These statutes have placed new duties upon the Fishery Board and the Scottish Office working in friendly co-operation.

The existing system of Scottish private legislation procedure was established by an Act passed in 1899 by Lord Balfour of Burleigh and Mr. Graham Murray.

Its effect is that measures which would previously have been dealt with as private Bills at Westminster now go (with limited exceptions) under the Scottish procedure which includes the taking of the "Committee stage," in case of opposition, by Commissioners sitting in Scotland. The Scottish Office is responsible for the machinery of this procedure up to the stage when the Provisional Order is made by the Secretary of State and scheduled to a Bill for confirmation by Parliament.

The germ of this system existed in the limited powers to make Provisional Orders which the Secretary for Scotland inherited in 1885: but the Act of 1899 has really meant a complete transformation of the old system of private legislation for Scotland.

The fifth Division deals with establishment, *i.e.*, the organisation of the Office itself, staff, distribution of work, and general business. It is also responsible for the establishment questions affecting the various services under its wing and for the organisation of, and appointments in, the various legal services (excepting the procurator-fiscal service).

This Division also looks after five Parliamentary Votes: Scottish Office, Police, Herring Industry, Special Areas, and Exchequer contributions to local revenues.

Its other activities include the group of "ceremonial" subjects, of which the Silver Jubilee and the Coronation may be taken as recent illustrations. The work in a particular item of this group may for many years be like a mere trickle down the hillside. Then an event happens and the trickle becomes a Highland torrent in spate.

In these difficult times the Scottish Office, like other Departments, is necessarily concerned mainly with stern practical problems in the sphere of what one may call the "utilities." It is pleasant to note, however, under this Division that the Scottish Office is also associated with subjects that belong to the "humanities," including the Public Records, the National Library, and the National Galleries of Scot-

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land. All these have been put upon a better foundation in my official lifetime. In the case of the National Galleries the instrument was an Act passed in 1906, one of Lord Pentland's many achievements. It has enabled the Board of Trustees to exhibit in their Galleries collections of pictures and of portraits which are a worthy representation of Scottish art and history. Some of the treasures of the Galleries will be exhibited in the Exhibition of Scottish Art which the Royal Academy, with the co-operation of Scotsmen and Scotswomen, are organising in London from January to March next.

Ladies and gentlemen, that completes my flying survey. It is very inadequate, but I hope it will give you some idea of what we are trying to do in partnership with our sister Departments and with the local authorities.

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History of the London County Council, 1889-1939

By SIR GWILYM GIBBON & REGINALD BELL. (Published by MacMillan & Co.)
21s. net.

THE L.C.C. has celebrated its jubilee in grand style—an exhibition, a film, the first woman chairman, and an official history written by Sir Gwilym Gibbon and Mr. Reginald Bell, Chairmen, films and exhibitions have their day and pass on, but the history remains for all time, and it was a particularly happy thought—as all readers of PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION will agree—to get Sir Gwilym to write it.

The book falls into two main divisions. The first includes Part I, an account of London government up to 1889 when the County Council was formed, and Part II an account of the Council itself from 1889 to the present day, and its absorption of the School Board, of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, and of twenty-eight Boards of Guardians. The second division includes all the rest—and by far the greater part of the bulky volume, Part III gives an account of the various services Education, Public Health, Housing, Public Assistance, etc., and Part IV an account of the external relations of the Council, its relation to Parliament, to the Metropolitan Boroughs, to the Public Utility undertakings and to the public.

It is a perpetual mystery to all students of local government how the capital city managed to maintain antiquated and entirely inadequate methods of government fifty years longer than the smaller cities of the provinces. Although the power of the City Corporation prevented the reforming hand of 1835 from touching it, it is curious that there were then no public-spirited citizens outside the City boundary who were determined to make one or more corporations out of the neighbouring populous areas. This lack of a civic sense when the metropolis was much smaller than it is to-day, was further encouraged by the creation of twenty-eight metropolitan boroughs, which were created ten years after the L.C.C. had been set up, by a government that was somewhat afraid of the strong Progressive

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policy of the majority at Spring Gardens. The L.C.C. has had a much more difficult task than any other local government body in the country, and the fact that, although still more hampered than most by difficulties of areas and limited functions, it emerges on its jubilee as not only the largest but one of the outstanding municipal authorities of the country, speaks well for the men and women who have served it as members and officials during the last fifty years.

The second division of the book is of special interest to Londoners. An account is given of all the services, with, in most cases, a brief history of the period before 1889. The chapter on Housing has a particularly interesting summary of the national legislation on this subject from the fifties of the last century, which will be useful to all students of this subject. But for the most part this section of the book is too uncritical. A little light and shade would have made it not only much more interesting to readers—even Londoners—but of much greater value as an estimate, by one well qualified to judge, of the achievements of the L.C.C. up to date.

The first division of the book, however, makes up for this deficiency in the second. The authors give a most interesting account of the struggle for reform from the establishment of the Metropolitan Board of Works in 1855 to the setting up of the County Council in 1889, a struggle in which London government had to pay the penalty for its close juxtaposition to Westminster, so that the question of the municipal reform of the capital became one of party politics in Parliament. This close connection, however irritating to both bodies at times when opposite political parties were in control, was apparently inescapable. How otherwise can one account for the fact that the L.C.C. modelled its procedure on that of Parliament, with not only the same party system with a Policy Committee equivalent to the Cabinet, but the same antiquated method of recording votes, and the same custom of a long recess, necessary for a legislative body so as to give the Departments time to get on with their administrative duties, but completely inappropriate to an administrative body whose machine has to work all the year round?

The authors then give an account of the Council as it works to-day—one full of interest to all students of local government. The organisation of the Council, the account of a typical meeting, its standing orders, and the recruitment of its officials are described in fascinating detail, and with the critical impartiality of an expert in public administration. In spite of some delegation to committees and even to sub-committees brought about in 1934, it is made clear that there is still room for reform in the attitude of the Council to its officials. With the conspicuous exception of the bold experiment, followed in other parts of the country, of leaving the administration

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of the scales of out-relief to paid adjudicators instead of to members of the Public Assistance Committee, the officials of County Hall evidently enjoy less responsibility than do those of other county and county borough councils.

This attitude seems to be due not only to the survival of the first Council's distrust of officials, but to the fact that the members of the Council can give more time to its work than can the business men and trade union organisers in the provinces. Whereas most other bodies meet normally only once a month, the L.C.C. meets every week, although it has fewer activities to supervise than a county borough—no police, no public utilities, and public health and housing shared with the metropolitan boroughs. It is of course true that the population under the L.C.C. is far larger than that under any other county council or any county borough, but the question upon which one would like Sir Gwilym to have expressed a personal opinion, is whether size of population and area, or diversity of functions within the area, puts the greatest strain upon the responsible body. If it confines itself, as ideally it should, to questions of policy, size should surely be of less importance than variety of function. Students of these and the numerous other problems of municipal administration will be grateful for the stimulating way in which they are raised in this book.

The authors have not attempted either to depict or to solve the existing administrative problems which face the L.C.C. One gets the impression that great though the misgovernment of London was in the past, the present double-deck arrangement with the metropolitan boroughs, the enclave of the City, and the multiplicity of authorities in Greater London, is working or can be made to work satisfactorily, although a tear is shed over the inability of this area to work a regional town planning committee. The problems that Dr. Robson faces with courage and imagination in his new book¹ are evidently considered unsuitable for treatment in an official history, but it is not too much to say that for a full understanding of those problems of London government which will have to be solved in the next fifty years, a perusal of this weighty and well-balanced volume is essential.

SHENA D. SIMON.

¹ *The Government and Misgovernment of London.* (Allen & Unwin)

The Government and Misgovernment of London

By W. A. ROBSON. (George Allen and Unwin.) Pp. 484. 15s.

THERE are two governmental institutions whose story during the recent decades is the most interesting for those concerned with public

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administration, and one of them is the London County Council. It is all to the good, therefore, that a number of publications should appear in this the Council's jubilee year, besides the officially sponsored (though not officially guided) History of the London County Council, for which I have been partly responsible. There is the more welcome for Mr. Robson's volume because it deals with the question of the future government of Greater London, for which, however tempting, there was not room in the History.

The book is in three parts. "The Past" is a history of metropolitan government, good and interesting within its limits. "The Present" is not more than a sketchy account of some of the many services, selected seemingly to bring out present defects; an indication of this is the space devoted to the woes of the out-county pupil, a subject of importance in itself but a minor matter in the great story of metropolitan education. "The Future" sets out the author's prescription for remedying Greater London's failings—a Greater (very much greater) London Regional Council, with local (or district) councils for larger areas than at present.

It is good to see that the author recognises the splendid work of that much-abused body of the past, the Metropolitan Board of Works, though even he fails to do it justice. He calls it "a corrupt and almost irresponsible body" (page 61). Corrupt it was in that some members and officers were found guilty towards the end of its career and there had been previous allegations, but the commission of inquiry went out of its way to say that "against the vast majority of its members not even a suspicion of corruption or misconduct has been breathed." Irresponsible it was, too, in the sense that its members were not directly elected, but it is doubtful whether (at any rate in the earlier part of its career) it would have been any more "responsible" in fact, as distinct from form, even if it had been directly elected, and it was the first local authority (so far as I am aware) whose accounts were audited by professional persons selected by a central department. The chief cause of the Board's unpopularity in its later years was that it did not sacrifice to two idols of the day—direct representation and free trade, its offence against the latter being the stout fight it put up, in the interests of the London ratepayer, for the retention of the coal and wine duties—and it left the County Council to moan the absence of compensation from the National Exchequer when the duties had been abandoned.

My first grouse against Mr. Robson's lively, if somewhat rhetorical, denunciation of metropolitan "misgovernment" is that it paints a very unbalanced picture. The general impression it may well give to the uninformed reader is that the metropolis is a badly governed place. Despite the many shortcomings, it is, in fact, pro-

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bably the best-governed great metropolis of the world, not excepting New York, to which Mr. Robson refers, despite the latter's new constitution and its spate of Federal money in recent years; in fairness it should be added that New York has special problems of its own.

Nor is Mr. Robson always a safe guide in details. Thus, he blames the Metropolitan Water Board for taking excellent market land for its latest reservoir; if blame there be, it is that the Board has not earlier acquired more land of the same general kind; all and where the grass is green is not suitable for large reservoirs, indeed much the contrary. With more reason he criticises the London County Council for taking good market land for their great Becontree housing estate; he would have been on still sounder ground had he criticised them for not acquiring more of the adjoining river land, for the salvation of Becontree depends on workers finding employment in the neighbourhood (as, fortunately, they are now doing to a large extent), not in London or its immediate environs. Again, the suggestion that Becontree would have been excellent for housing dockland workers is not exactly happy. And I doubt whether Mr. Robson would have dubbed the Metropolitan Boroughs' Standing Joint Committee "a feeble and insignificant body" (page 362), had he had many dealings with them in recent years; it is well not to be deceived because business is not done with trumpets.

Despite the many excellences of metropolitan government, however, anybody familiar with the position cannot but agree that there is much that needs to be done. I concur with Mr. Robson, and have said before, that the failure to provide, years ago, an executive planning authority for Greater London is a tragedy and also that it would be dangerous to adopt any large part of the Bressey Report, admirable though it be, without previous comprehensive planning (in its broad framework, that is), though desirable, for reasons of urgency, to proceed with some of the proposals on which there is general agreement.

It would be rash, in my view, to undertake, without much more investigation, such changes as Mr. Robson proposes, nor does his narrative afford such a balanced and considered account of the position as to justify them. The Lord have mercy upon us if we are to be judged by our faults with but a passing glance at our virtues! But it is not enough just to criticise, and my suggestions are these: First, that a regional authority be appointed for the urgent matters—regional planning and regional traffic questions. Second, that a small, competent commission be appointed to inquire into the government of Greater London and also such conurbations (an ugly word, but I suppose that it must now be adopted) as the Liverpool—Bootle—Birkenhead and the Manchester—Salford groups—yes, yet

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another inquiry, since we still do not know enough and for the enlightenment of public opinion, because the massive obstacle of local opinion cannot be so easily thrust aside as Mr. Robson supposes, the country not having yet become totalitarian! Not, however, a commission which sits round a table and just hears evidence but one that employs its own able agents to search out facts and their implications, like the commissions of the 1830's on the poor law and municipal corporations, and that of the 1900's on the poor law, but, unlike them, agents who, so far as possible, will see these matters in a dry light, without bias.

While there is much in Mr. Robson's volume that is open to question, I think that he has done a public service in writing it and I hope that it will be widely read, because the problem of Greater London government is so stubborn, so complicated and so thorny with interests (not by any means all of them selfish) that the inclination is to push it into some dark corner instead of bringing it into the light of day.

I. G. GIBBON.

Public Health Services¹

By NORMAN WILSON, M.A., Dipl.P.H. (William Hodge & Co., Ltd.) Pp. 244. 7s. 6d. net.

IN the recently published report of the committee of enquiry on the prevalence of tuberculosis in Wales, set up in September, 1937, by the then Minister of Health, Sir Kingsley Wood, it is stated that the committee, while recognising difficulties of administration, is of opinion that the local authorities "have fallen far short of their duties and of their obligations. We find that they have had insufficient regard for their powers or their duties or the advice which was tendered to them by their officers."

The publication of Mr. Wilson's book "Public Health Services," in which he strongly criticises the present mode of administration of our health services, comes therefore at a singularly apt moment, when the public have had startlingly brought before them this very matter.

Some local authorities provide good, some bad, some indifferent health services; and it is just this lack of uniformity of which Mr. Wilson complains, and for which he offers a remedy. In an excellent critical study he takes as examples 79 county boroughs, because (a) they have the widest powers; and (b) an effective comparison is only possible between bodies with equal powers; and he selects the four "personal" health services, maternity and child welfare, the school child, tuberculosis and poor law medical services.

¹A research study completed under the auspices of the Institute of Public Administration.

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He traces the establishment and growth of our health services in a short historical survey, proceeds to criticise them in detail, and finally gives us his solution.

A great deal of evidence is deduced to show how widely the health services of these boroughs differ: how almost haphazard has been the establishment of their various services—variations so gross as not to be explicable by differences in local conditions. Local authorities are shown in practice to have almost unlimited powers, the Ministry of Health practically never applying the final coercion in the case of a recalcitrant local authority (that this can lead to disaster has been clearly demonstrated in the report on Wales referred to above).

The reply of the local authorities to any criticisms is one of "poverty forbids": and it must be confessed that, under the present system of "block grants" from the Ministry, it is very often the poorest area, whose needs are actually the greatest, which receives the least! But granted this, the variations are still too great, for example, one authority may provide maternity and child welfare clinics but they may be insufficient in numbers, held in unsuitable premises, or even omit such an essential subsidiary service as dental treatment (the Midwives Act is surely proof that the Ministry recognises the need of unification in one of the essential services). Again, in the school service, while inspection being clearly laid down by the Ministry, is fairly uniform, the provision of treatment "shows that want of uniformity which is one of the Service's main characteristics" (page 65). To take an example: one authority makes no provision at all for its mentally defective children (of all grades), and scandalously little provision is made for cases of severe heart disease, so frequently associated with juvenile rheumatism. In the whole of England and Wales only six special schools for them exist, four being maintained by voluntary bodies! (page 81).

The tuberculosis services are equally variable—sanatoria, proper housing, "after-care," and suitable employment being far from adequate in many cases. Nor is the state of the Poor Law services any better, domiciliary medical relief being particularly ill-controlled and ill-supervised.

The "widely varying financial capabilities" of the local authorities is the core of the problem, admittedly, and the solution offered is centralisation: the provision of services by a central authority and local administration by administrative officers who would carry out Parliament's decisions and make suggestions for developing and extending present services.

There would be a public health advisory council composed of elected representatives of (a) medical associations; (b) local

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authorities' associations; (c) nominees of the universities, scientific and other bodies. The council would consider new services, recommend such to the Minister of Health who would present them in due course in the form of a Bill to Parliament.

A public health commissioner, whose essential qualification should be administrative ability of high order, would be appointed to administer each area, and to be responsible to the Minister of Health. His duties should be to consider the cost and how best to carry out the services suggested: he would not necessarily or even desirably be a medical man. His area should be a larger one than many local authorities now administer and its boundaries should not be rigid but admit of modification as need arose.

Local authorities could have the right of direct appeal to the commissioner, and also to the Minister of Health, so that although their powers would be very drastically curtailed they would still play a valuable part in the general scheme of administration. The principles of democracy would still be preserved in that the final control rested with Parliament.

If one admits that the great question of public health is one of national rather than of local interest, then one must admit there is a great deal in what Mr. Wilson says and much to be commended in his suggestions. But in any case, his views are provocative of much thought, and to all those interested in our public health services, who realise there is room for improvement in our present mode of administration, I recommend, most heartily, his book.

C. M. M. CULVER-EVANS.

Consolidated Loans Funds of Local Authorities

By DRUMMOND and MARSHALL. (William Hodge & Co., Ltd.) 7s. 6d. net.

THIS publication forms an addition to the growing list of research studies carried out at the instance of the Institute of Public Administration, with the collaboration, where financial subjects are concerned, of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants.

From one point of view Messrs. Drummond and Marshall have made a most admirable job of their research work. They have dealt shortly with the principles governing loans funds, and very fully with many questions of practical detail. The text is well written and misprints seem to be non-existent; one would, however, have preferred the term "authority" to have been used either in the singular or the plural throughout. This, of course, is the merest triviality, but as the authors themselves say, in another connection, it seems better that the question should not arise!

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Pioneers in loan pooling will welcome the book; its contents are for the most part incontrovertible, and based upon a research background adequate in all but one respect; it demonstrates how simply loan transactions can be dealt with, and even catalogues the advantages to be derived from a consolidated loans fund. It is, in short, propaganda, accurate, valuable and much needed, in favour of universal loan pooling, and from that angle cannot be too highly praised. There can be no doubt that so long as local authority loan transactions are dealt with by way of the now archaic system of "earmarking" (once aptly described as a mass of barbed wire and fish-hooks), just so long will there continue to exist at least one reproach to the efficiency with which the financial business of local authorities is conducted.

But one felt that, here and there, the authors had stopped where they should have gone on.

Chapter I begins with a reference to Edinburgh, but in the remaining 156 pages references to Scotland are notable only for their absence. This is a pity; the Scottish funds of to-day would have afforded research material ideal for the authors' purpose. Scottish schemes usually take the form of schedules to the respective local Acts permitting the setting up of loans funds. Where only one bank account is operated, it follows that every cash transaction forms either a borrowing from or a repayment to the loans fund on account of the department concerned. Thus the balances of indebtedness thrown out periodically by the various ledgers are *ipso facto*, the measure of the financial relationship between department and loans fund, and form the basis for the apportionment of interest and other expenses. Whether actual book advances are made does not matter, the liability is clear. Such an arrangement eliminates such snags as the time lag between expenditure by a department and the advance to meet it, adjustments where the expenditure differs from the amount advanced to meet it, and so on. Actually the expenditure is the advance.

This takes us to the proposition (p. 27) that temporary borrowings for working capital have no place in the loans fund. Why? On p. 29 the point is made that capital items must be distinguished from revenue. This is admitted, but why introduce purely artificial distinctions into loan records by excluding temporary advances from the general pool? This seems to cut right across the ideal of unity which the loans pool seeks to achieve. Curiously enough Messrs. Drummond and Marshall seem to favour a unified investment policy, *i.e.*, an arrangement under which investments by the authority are made by the loans fund, instead of by the individual departments or funds concerned. The reasoning is parallel—the loans fund acts

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as a banker or financial agent, with the whole security and resources of the authority behind it.

Where superannuation, reserve, or other funds are lent to the loans fund the question of interest becomes of importance. In their suggested model clause the authors provide for the payment to the lending department or fund of interest at the same rate as would be payable on a mortgage issued at the date of the internal loan. Mortgage periods and rates vary so considerably that this proposition is too indefinite for one's liking, but on page 143 there is a suggestion that the rate should be that payable for five-year mortgage money. Admittedly one cannot insist on too great a degree of refinement here, but there is the possibility that the special interests of the lending fund may be subordinated to those of the loans fund. A recent Scottish precedent provides for interest at the higher of two alternative rates—(a) the rate at which the authority could borrow externally, and (b) the rate at which the lending fund could lend externally—in each case for the same period as that proposed for the internal loan. This formula is not intended to be carried to too great a degree of refinement, but it does provide a measure of safety for the lending fund.

There are references on pages 121 and 156 to the possible danger of excess borrowings on a loans fund being used to bolster up the authority's aggregate bank balance. One would have liked to see this dealt with much more severely. Given adequate budgeting on rate and trading accounts, and proper arrangements for writing down capital—and these should be commonplaces in any financial organisation—then there should be no such danger. Incidentally, inclusion of advances for working capital within the loans fund would show how far, if at all, outside borrowings were being used to finance revenue deficits, though, of course, this should be clear enough from the trading and rating balance sheets themselves.

Messrs. Drummond and Marshall rightly emphasise the speed with which loans fund accounts can be closed at the year end (p. 154), the fact that the making of advances is an internal operation (p. 47), and on page 64 there is an interesting and logical suggestion that net interest paid by the loans fund might be apportioned among services and departments on the basis of daily indebtedness. Over all the book forms a landmark of progress in the evolution of loan pooling for local authorities as well as a pointer for the future. Few will not profit from a close study of its pages, but one closes on just a lingering note of regret: regret that Messrs. Drummond and Marshall had left undealt with those one or two facets of their subject which, to the writer at least, are of more than passing interest.

ERIC MAXWELL.

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A Study in English Local Authority Finance

By JOSEPH SYKES, University College, Exeter. (London: P. S. King & Son.)
12s.

THE aim of this study is to examine and appraise the system of English local authority finance during the post-War period, 1919-1935. The work includes a short history of the post-War changes in expenditure and revenue, an analysis of the economic and social effects and a discussion of some of the outstanding problems of future policy, especially the reform of the system of local rates.

The volume will be a very useful contribution to the literature available for the economic student on the interesting subject of local authority finance. The practitioner either in local or central government may not, however, be inclined to agree with the method of presentation of the facts and all the conclusions reached.

From the practitioner's point of view it is unfortunate that the statistical diagrams have included in the same chart the expenditure on revenue and capital account. The incidents and characteristics of the two classes of expenditure are so dis-similar as to justify separate treatment and similar criticisms could be adduced in relation to the statistical portions of the book.

Mr. Sykes throughout the historical part properly draws attention to the tremendous growth in expenditure during the period of the review: in the main he attributes this, and rightly so, to the incitement and provocation offered by the government departments, whether by statute, regulation or order. The encouragement offered to local authorities to increase their expenditure by the issue of imperial subventions, particularly those related on the percentage basis to the expenditure incurred, is also properly emphasised.

He is not so happy in his suggestion that the large increase in capital expenditure may be attributed, first to the relaxation and secondly, to the removal of the borrowing limits. These were never effective for trading services or for housing (which are responsible for much the greater portion of the post-War expenditure) and it was always possible for the larger authorities to incur large-scale expenditure on public health services by means of powers obtained by local legislation. A reference is made to the supposed dis-economy in working which is said to be an inherent defect of the present system of local government, to the scaling up of post-War salaries and the failure in later years to have regard to the fall in cost of living, but it is admitted that the mobilisation of public service may have resulted in a lower level in salaries than in private enterprise.

The formula for the distribution of the General Exchequer Grants is subjected to criticism. It is stated that no provision is made for changes of population within the grant period. This is, however,

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all to the benefit of the distressed or special areas, most of which are suffering from the disability of a decline in population and would be hit by any such change. The complaint is also made that the weighting for children under five is defective, in disregarding the high cost of education. Education receives its own formula grant which is so arranged as to give the greater benefit (generally speaking) to the poorer areas. The weighting for children is, therefore, not related to the cost of the education service but more particularly to the public health and welfare services; and a high proportion of children may, in general, be an indication of the relative poverty of the area.

The comparisons of the divergent grants received under the 1929 Act, could have been improved by a better mode of selection. For example, Llanelly and Abercarn, both county districts, are respectively compared with Walsall and West Bromwich, which are county boroughs, and similar illustrations are given. Apart altogether from the possible differences in the characteristics and the needs of the areas, the basis of the distribution to county districts and county boroughs differs so widely as to make comparisons of this kind somewhat ineffective. Similarly, the comparative tables showing the absolute and proportionate growth of debt of different classes of local authorities demand, for proper consideration, some analysis of the causes of the increase and the subjects on which the expenditure is incurred.

Space will not permit of any review of the economic and social effects of the local authority spending and reference must, therefore, be made to the critical estimate and the problems postulated by the Author. It is, however, interesting to observe that the conclusion is reached that while the operations of local authorities may have been to some extent disruptive in their effect, by reason of somewhat violent fluctuations, no superlative amount of harm to the national income has supervened and the gravamen of the charge against the post-War system is that local rates were more unstable than rates of taxation with consequential unfortunate psychological effects. In considering the problems, the conclusion appears to be that while there is room for a considerable improvement in the efficiency of local authority administration and a need for a greater amount of control from Whitehall, there is still room for a considerable increase in the quantum of expenditure which may be undertaken by the local authorities. Dealing with education it is said that no one would seek to deny that the devotion of larger resources to the scheme of education could be attempted with rich gain. This is a positive statement and in contrast to the opinions expressed by Sir Gwilym Gibbon in speaking to the Royal Statistical

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Society in 1936, when he raises the doubt as to whether the vast growth in education expenditure is being accompanied by an adequate return: while he expresses doubt he says that faith abounds.

A similar cause is shown for an increase in expenditure in other directions and the future of regionalisation as a method of improving efficiency and removing disparities is discussed. As to the precise method upon which these regional authorities are to be set up, it is properly said that this would require a separate volume or even a Royal Commission, but preference is expressed for the creation of regions which would devise and administer schemes for all suitable services. The authorities should be equipped with power to promote the regional outlook upon other services and for the taking of measures designed to extinguish over-lapping and reduce local scarcities. Precise examples of the methods by which economy would be effected are given. The present policy governing capital borrowings is generally approved and, in fact, it is said that there is no inherent harm in borrowing for the purpose of balancing local budgets or to meet emergencies. The propriety of the former may be questioned and any extension in the latter direction would require very severe restrictions if abuse is to be prevented.

Dr. Sykes, throughout his thesis, propounds the view that the burden of local taxation falls much more heavily upon the poorer classes than upon the richer classes and, in his review of the problems, makes suggestions for effecting a redistribution, (a) by the increase of Exchequer Grants, (b) by a greater resort to the practice of charging for specific services rendered and (c) by the institution of a local income tax to be levied and administered by the proposed regional authorities.

The first suggestion would undoubtedly have the effect of relieving the burden upon the poorer classes, and the same considerations might apply to his suggestion of charging for services. It must, however, be remembered that while the economic theory of ability to pay is very badly expressed by the criterion of the value of the properties occupied, it is undoubtedly true that the poorer classes obtain by far the greater amount of benefit from the expenditure of local authorities and the impact can, therefore, be justified on the grounds of benefits received. It is also important to remember that the present methods are designed to encourage all classes of the community to take advantage of the services rendered and thereby help to reduce cost by what, for want of a better term, may be called "bulk" supply methods. If the policy is to be changed on the lines suggested, there is a danger that the richer classes will look elsewhere for certain of the facilities which can be supplied by private enterprise.

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A discussion of the subject of a local income tax, to use the author's words used on another occasion, would require a separate volume, or series of volumes, in order to touch the fringe of the problem, but many of the objections which have been raised to previous suggestions of this kind would undoubtedly be obviated if the levy and administration were controlled by the suggested regional authorities.

The outlook which is presented on problems confronting local authorities is undoubtedly fresh, and, while many of us feel that one of the greatest difficulties awaiting solution in local government at the present time is to devise some method of bringing about a contraction rather than an increase of local expenditure, no one can read this book without considerable benefit.

HUGH R. RALPH.

Books on Local Government

Illustrative Materials in Local Government and Administration. By CHARLES KNEIER. (Harper & Brothers.) Pp. 632. \$3.50.

The Civic History of the Town of Cavan. By T. S. SMYTH. (Browne & Nolan, Ltd.) Pp. 188. 3s. 6d.

HANDBOOKS on municipal government in this country are of two kinds. They are either legal text-books, dealing with the constitution and functions of municipalities from the technical standpoint of the law courts, or they are studies in the general problem of political organisation applied to a narrow field. A few attempt to be both things at once, and almost always fail miserably. There are some excellent achievements to record in the second class, but nearly none at all in the first, *ad hoc* studies of Acts of Parliament and minor branches of the law excepted. The consequence is that local government remains much of a mystery for the undergraduate student of political science in England. The treatment of the legal problems is uninspired and insignificant. The profoundest study of the Local Government Act, 1933, or the Food and Drugs Act, 1938 (fair samples of the kind of thing available to him in a law library), will give him nothing more than a mass of information that is "practical" only in the narrow sense of the word, and "useful" for the most part only in a law court or a public office. On the other hand, the diligent reading of books on the political aspect of local government fills his mind with a multitude of half-baked generalisations and little precise knowledge of anything. He falls neatly between two stools.

The problem as it presents itself to the American teacher of municipal administration is even more acute than that which is known to us over here. There is no organic law of local government like

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the Local Government Act, 1933; there is only a vastly differing jumble of legislation, many parts of which are peculiar to one state or another. And the political practice of local government varies correspondingly widely, from the privately-owned "company town" to the government of metropolitan cities; from the parochial organisation of seventeenth century England to entirely new forms of government, with achievements influencing developments all over the world.

The very immensity of the task confronting the local government administrator and teacher in the U.S.A. has forced both of them to experiment in ways unknown to us. The one has created institutions such as the Public Administration Clearing House, at which we might well cast envious eyes; the other has adopted new methods of presenting his subject to satisfy the requirements of the facts and problems and of the student who is instructed about them. We have a great deal to learn from their experiments.

Professor Kneier tells us in the preface to his book that, "In the study of municipal government and administration it is advantageous to acquaint the student with some of the materials with which public officials must deal—constitutional provisions, state laws, charters, municipal ordinances and court decisions. The use of such materials should stimulate interest, make the student appreciate the practical side of municipal government, and encourage independent and critical thinking about the problems with which municipal officials are confronted. . . . A collection of illustrative materials has the further advantage of making it possible to present the views of specialists on various phases of municipal government and administration."

The book thus compiled is something new in the way of local government literature. It is divided into two parts: government and administration. The one deals with the creation and status of municipal corporations; municipal home rule; administrative control over cities; legal liability; the municipal electorate; and forms of city government. The other covers administrative organisation in general; personnel administration; finance in all its aspects; city planning; housing; health; law enforcement; fire protection; and public utility regulation and operation. In each section the treatment of the subject is built up out of a series of representative extracts from authoritative sources, such as statutes, legal decisions, text-books and official documents of every kind.

As an example of the value of the method of presenting the material, we may outline the contents of the chapter on municipal employees. At the outset a short statistical account is given of all public employees in the U.S.A. to put the problem into perspective.

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An extract follows from the Report of the Public Service Personnel Commission regarding the selection of municipal employees, and this is supplemented by a description of the operation of the Merit System, taken from an article by Mr. William E. Mosher. The analysis is continued by another extract dealing with "Positive Aspects of Personnel Management." The practical problem of how to recruit employees is then discussed in an extract from the Manual of the Civil Service Commission of the City of Chicago, and an example (an actual examination paper for bricklayers prepared in Cleveland, Ohio), gives exactitude to the argument. Subjects dealt with in the same way include appointment and removal; promotion; pensions; liability for injury; and "unionization."

Professor Kneier's book is most stimulating, and it is to be hoped that his work will provoke the sincerest flattery of imitation in our own country in the near future.

Mr. Smyth approaches the problem of making local government come alive from a very different angle. The study of local history can put flesh on otherwise dry bones where perhaps every other method would fail. Every town should have its local history—not only the large ones, such as Manchester and Birmingham. Mr. Smyth has gone to endless pains to give an accurate account of his town's life, which successfully demonstrates the continuity of the new with the old. There is every evidence in this book that the author would be a fascinating person with whom to discuss the problems of Ireland's future as well as her past.

T. S. SIMEY.

The Law of Food and Drugs, 1938

By W. IVOR JENNINGS and GEORGE J. COLE. (London: Charles Knight & Co., Ltd.) 1938.

It is not often that a book appears which purports to be an exposition of law which will not be in force until twelve months after the book is published, but then it is not often that an Act appears which consolidates with amendments over one hundred enactments relating to one particular branch of the law. The fact that consolidation has been accompanied by amendments necessitates a very careful consideration of the Food and Drugs Act, 1938, which is to come into force on 1st October, 1939, and it is essential that local authorities should be thoroughly familiar with its provisions before the appointed day. The exact extent of the amendments is not always apparent from a mere perusal of the Act itself nor can their significance be necessarily appreciated by a study of the Third Interim Report of the Local Government and Public Health Consolidation Committee (Cmd. 5628/1937), since certain minor amendments were made in

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the course of the passage of the Bill through Parliament which cannot be accounted for in the Report. The legislation concerning food and drugs is, perhaps more than any other, subject to the vicissitudes of minor amendment and a knowledge of the implications involved is essential to efficient administration in this branch of local government if unnecessary litigation is to be avoided.

For these reasons the appearance of Jennings and Cole's "Law of Food and Drugs" is to be welcomed; it remains to decide whether it is worthy of a place on the shelf of the local government officer, for already competitors are in the field. Both from the point of view of exposition of the law and from that of typography it appears to have every advantage while, in addition, it has the immeasurable benefit of being one of a series of books on Public Health Law by Dr. Jennings, whereby cross-reference to other Acts is made easy. The exposition of the law is complete and the implications of the Common Law have not been forgotten, the importance of which has been strikingly brought to notice in *Square v. Model Farm Dairies (Bournemouth) Ltd.* (1938), to which the book makes reference.

The decision of the Court of first instance in this case has, however, recently been overruled by the Court of Appeal so far as it affects the liability of the seller of food or drugs to any person other than the purchaser for supplying an inferior quality to that of the food or drug which the seller has been asked to sell. Lord Justice Slesser pointed out that Section 2 (1) of the Food and Drugs (Adulteration) Act, 1928, was, in fact, a reproduction of the provisions of Section 13 and 14 of the Sale of Goods Act, 1893, which, in turn, were no more than a consolidation of the existing Common Law. In his view, therefore, the Act of 1928, the provisions of which are reproduced in this connection in Section 3 of the Food and Drugs Act, 1938, deals solely with the question of the sale of goods as between purchaser and vendor, and imposes a penalty only for what might otherwise give rise to a civil action. It may be observed with respect, however, that at the time that the Act of 1893 was passed the decision in *Donoghue v. Stevenson* had not appeared, though it must be regarded as part of the Common Law as much as anything that came before it, and it is possible that the decision in that case may apply equally to breach of a statutory duty as to negligence. The question is to be the subject of an appeal to the House of Lords.

The typography of the book deserves special mention. It is in the form adopted by Dr. Jennings in his other public health works and is most convenient for the purposes of reference because the legislation stands out very clearly from the notes and each note is prefaced by a short paragraph on the old law. From every point

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of view, therefore, this would appear to be a book well worthy of the consideration of every public health officer who may be seeking guidance in this branch of the law with which he is so vitally concerned.

A. W. PURVIS.

N.A.L.G.O. as St. George

The Fight for Superannuation. (National Association of Local Government Officers.)

YEARS ago, in chaffing mood, I wrote that no book should be published without pictures, but never in my wildest dream did I imagine that anyone could illustrate a book on pensions, but Mr. L. Hill, who is responsible for the letterpress, has enlisted the aid of an artistic colleague at Walsall, Mr. J. Carver, who has evidently studied Fougasse with profit and the result is a number of illustrations which are not only funny but actually do illustrate the story, which is more than can always be said for illustrations by quite celebrated people. There is the famous case of Phiz who embellished *Pickwick* with a picture of Dorking Church with a tower, whereas it really had a steeple, and the still more famous case of the American book artist who depicted the *Pied Piper of Hamelin* as a buxom pantomime principal boy playing a harp! Mr. Carver's pictures do really tell the story.

When the son of the Duke of Argyle married Queen Victoria's daughter an old Hielandman remarked: "The Queen will be a proud wumman the day," and Mr. Samuel Lord, who contributes a foreword, must be a proud man just now for he can look back on thirty years' hard struggle and has the good fortune to see victory. Mr. Hill, who tells the story, would be the last to claim that he is saying anything new but it is a story worth re-telling if only for the fact that the younger generation is apt to take benefits as though they had always existed and if they think of their predecessors at all it is to wonder what kind of old duffers they were not to have gained more. Mr. Hill, to use his own words, shows that reform goes through the stages of "aspiration, suspense, frustration, obstruction, unflagging perseverance . . . and victory." Had he added exasperation his catalogue would have been complete. It is worth while spending a little time on the subject. The stages of a reform are, first, a vague feeling of injustice and hopeless helplessness; then along come a few enthusiasts, fanatics, impossibilists, call them what you will, who say that something can and shall be done. As a rule they are clear enough as to what they want but not at all clear as to how to get it and are usually divided among themselves. This stage passed, they embark on what should be the easiest but is their

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most difficult task—persuading their fellow-sufferers to join them. Apathy, fear, poverty of imagination and of pocket, along with jealousy, all play their sorry parts in the earlier stages of reform. Years sometimes elapse before this stage is passed but at last comes a time when the association, to use an old and euphemistic phrase, can try “to convert the authorities.” I am not familiar with the course of local government agitation, but I know from experience that till the coming of Whitley we in the Civil Service never converted any authorities. On the contrary, they fought us fiercely and not always very scrupulously. Things are different now, I gratefully admit, but authorities yielded only to pressure and of this Mr. Hill supplies plenty of evidence. To resume, the next stage is a partial victory and after that the tale is very different. The victors are heartened to make further effort, the waverers come in and the backsliders return. The way is open.

Nalgo owes its being to superannuation; so do the unions in the Civil Service, almost without exception, and the reason is simple. Superannuation is the one subject where the principle is alike for every officer, high and low. The great Civil Service pension movement in 1845 was started by the Accountant-General of the Admiralty, who would probably have been horrified had anyone told him he was founding a trade union movement, and Mr. Hill's book is spangled with the names of prominent local government officials.

The precursor to Nalgo was the Municipal Officers Association, founded in 1893, with a very limited objective, and this dragged out a somewhat weary existence with a membership of never more than a thousand. There is an illuminating anecdote in the book. Walter Long, the President of the L.G.B., told a deputation that when their numbers were ten thousand he would discuss the question. Why? If the demand was just, the question of numbers did not affect it but it must be admitted that there is some plain horse sense in a Minister suggesting that if only one in ten feels a grievance badly enough to protest, he is entitled to assume that the other nine are content. Long's remark should have sent the numbers up with a bound; actually it did the reverse and the Association became practically moribund. A period of inactivity and then Sir Herbert Blain and Sir Homewood Crawford stirred the dry bones. There was a second conference and in 1905 came Nalgo. From the beginning it was realised that reform must be through Parliamentary channels, indeed, it is not easy to see any other way, and Nalgo went through the weary job of drafting Bills and getting private members sufficiently interested to ballot for places on Friday.

In 1918 a departmental committee was set up and Nalgo gave evidence. The committee reported favourably and then came the

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long process of trying to get something done. 1919 became 1920 and the President of Nalgo could only report no progress. 1920 became 1921 and a number of members, headed by the present Prime Minister, took up the matter, though candour compels one to say that Mr. Chamberlain seemed less impressed by the justice of the case than the fact that the commercial world was poaching many of the best local government men. At last a date was obtained and it fell to Sir Herbert Nield, but he proved a curious champion, for he absolutely refused to propose a compulsory Bill and the unfortunate promoters had to carve their scheme to suit Sir Herbert's whim. In Standing Committee the Government tried to sabotage the Bill but were defeated. Not that any of these things really mattered for, on Report Stage, Sir Frederick Banbury played his famous obstruction game and talked out the Bill, cynically explaining afterwards that he was not opposed to the Bill at all but he was determined to oppose a Railway Bill which followed and could only successfully achieve his purpose by blocking Nalgo's Bill. But it went through on the following Friday. More trouble in the Lords, but at last the Bill became an Act. Then followed, as was inevitable, efforts to improve matters and another departmental committee was appointed in 1925, and in 1928 its Report was in favour of a compulsory scheme. At this point Mr. Hill caustically remarks that although two departmental committees, one Royal Commission, three Presidents of the L.G.B. and three Ministers of Health had said there was no answer to the claim of Nalgo, officially nothing had been done, for the permissive Act of 1922 was solely the work of the Association.

Still, progress continued to be made for by 1929 nearly 600 local authorities had adopted the 1922 Act. Later, the Haddo Committee, the economic crisis and the period of "cuts," but, even so, in 1933 Sir Henry Jackson, M.P., got through a Bill which remedied an injustice in pensions caused by the "cuts," and Nalgo had ever before it the vision of a compulsory Act.

At last, in 1937, two Bills were introduced by the Government, one for England and Wales, the other for Scotland. After storm, calm! More than thirty years' opposition and yet when it came to it, Mr. Hill tells us that the strongest criticism of the Bill was that it did not go far enough.

The regrettable exclusion of workmen seems to be due to some misunderstanding of the facts by the Trade Union Congress and will, no doubt, be put right in time, so I may leave Nalgo to rejoice over its great success and offer the members the congratulations of the Civil Service members of the I.P.A.

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I have just one personal grievance against this interesting and attractive-looking little book. It is in a paper cover and my paper-covered books have a dreadful way of disappearing into space.

G. H. STUART-BUNNING.

A Survey of the Social Services in the Oxford District

Vol. I. *Economics and Government of a Changing Area*. Pp. xii and 397. (O.U.P.) 15s.

THE historical associations of Oxford would in any case have made this survey of special interest to many readers, but it is intended to be more than a study of a city of pleasant memories. The sub-title, the "*Economics and Government of a Changing Area*," indicates that the problems examined are of more than academic interest; the theme of the book is the impact of a very modern industry upon the structure and social services of an ancient city and its environs. The area surveyed includes not only Oxford, but the municipal boroughs of Abingdon and Woodstock, together with a belt of surrounding country lying within eight to ten miles of the city. In 1911 the area contained less than 100,000 people; in twenty-six years the population has increased by over one-half. This growth is not due to births, for they were actually 121 fewer in 1930-1932 than they were in 1911-1912, despite an increase of population of one-fifth; over 35,000 have been added by immigration since 1931, a fact for which the rise of the motor industry is mainly responsible. Thirty-five per cent. of the insured population of Oxford has come from other Exchange areas, while nearly half of the insured workers in the motor industry, half the unskilled building labourers, and nearly a third of the male workers in distribution are "foreigners." Geographical proximity and similarity of industrial skill are two of the main determinants of the source and size of the streams which various parts of the country contributed to this growth. For this reason depressed Wales contributed little more than London—just over 10 per cent. of the immigrants.

For this progress a price has had to be paid. Trades which once looked ultimately to the prosperity of the University, such as building and retailing, now follow the pulse of the motor industry, and although this industry is the origin of the new opportunities for work, it has introduced a new seasonal instability into the pattern of unemployment. At present it is manned largely by young men, but these will grow older, and since elderly men find it difficult to maintain the required speed on the conveyor belts, there may be a further unemployment problem looming up in the future. Nor has agriculture been left untouched. While the major factors here are not peculiar to

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the district, nevertheless, the new industrial employment opportunities have introduced a competitive demand for labour. Despite the rise of the minimum wage, the earnings of the agricultural worker are still much less than those of the unskilled town worker; the average of 34s. makes poor showing with the 52s. in Oxford, and if rents are lower, it is only because the accommodation obtained for it is worse. In consequence three-quarters of the sons of agricultural labourers are leaving the industry, the number remaining being scarcely sufficient to maintain the labour supply. In response, farmers have mechanised and changed the character of their farming, so that only 30 per cent. of farm income is derived from crops as compared with 70 per cent. from dairy products. The process of adjustment in retail distribution is still uncompleted. The number of shops has grown less rapidly than the families and population to be served, though the absolute growth has been uneven as between the food trades, furniture, etc., and the new luxuries, like amusements, restaurants and books. But shopping facilities are not well distributed over the area and do not appear to have yet adjusted themselves to the new geographical distribution of demand.

These events are the origin of the new tasks of local administration. The new economic area of Oxford cuts across administrative boundaries and the push of the new urban populations into the rural belt has created problems relating to the supply of services and to jurisdiction. What has been the response of the administrative bodies? There has been a certain lack of decisive policy on the part of the City Council and a danger of that unco-ordinated departmental effort with which rapidly growing boroughs are all too well acquainted. But the City has now set up an advisory committee of chairmen of the principal committees to discuss long-term capital policy, and committees are constituted on the basis of interlocking membership, so that one member from each committee is also a member of one other allied committee. There has been an increase of labour representation since the establishment of the new industry, but, except in certain wards, there does not seem to be any decisive stimulation of popular interest. Public meetings have been mainly negative and confined to protests against action, rather than requests for it. "We can find no instance since 1901 of a new service being established by the Council as the direct result of a demand from outside the Council" (page 201). The survey emphasises the view that the greater city may in the end be cheaper to run than the old smaller one, but that it is the change from one to the other, the provision of capital works and services for future growth, which is expensive. On this basis, it is suggested that the grant system weighs in some degree against the growing community.

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As might be expected, each of the Sections of the Survey has been in the hands of an expert, the diagrams are clear and effective, and the separate chapters are well written. It is difficult to appraise a work whose projected length is three volumes on the basis of the first only, especially when the general conclusions are not to be set forth until the third. Teamwork on an enterprise of this kind has difficulties of its own, and gives rise to queries of detail and method. For example, the consideration of the structure of local government and of its finance in separate sections has made it difficult to discuss adequately, and in sharp enough terms, the actual occasions and detailed problems of the adjustments of services which have arisen, for these involve both structure and finance. But the books contains many points of interest for those engaged in public administration.

P. FORD.

The Changing Village

By F. G. THOMAS. (Nelson's Discussion Books, No. 25.) Pp. 188. 2s.

HERE is another of the popular Discussion Books produced by Nelson. Dealing with what is usually but somewhat loosely known as "rural life" in England, it has been written by one who can claim many years of personal contact with the country dweller. Mr. Thomas is head of the extra-mural department at Exeter and is well known as a broadcaster. (He is editing a series of Talks this term on "Town and Country.") He would, I think, be the first to admit that his book is to some extent an argument from the "particular" of Devon and Cornwall to the "general" of England as a whole. This minor limitation is unavoidable and in no way detracts from an excellent analysis, eminently readable, fair in exposition and amusingly trenchant in part. Thus—"the 'landlady' has to be controlled—a formidable task" or "to be neighbourly in a village demands the discretion of a Cabinet Minister and the subtlety of a diplomatist."

In general the book is a plea for "a re-orientation of social thinking that will include the rural and urban experience of this country in its conception." Now this book is a "Discussion Book," and one can, I think, find much material for argument in the things Mr. Thomas has to say. It can only be with a certain amount of diffidence that anyone should attempt to define the contrasts in thought and habit, mode and purpose of living as between the townsman and country dweller. Generalisations are always highly dangerous. So Mr. Thomas cleverly throws us a bone to gnaw: ". . . stoicism, not rebellion, is the admired and characteristic reaction to misfortune—resignation to bad drains, as inevitable as resignation to hereditary disease." Or, again, in talking of a *real*

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world and suggesting that the countryman is "in close contact with life," the author lists "the trees and the wind, the sowing and reaping, the harvest, the church buildings. . . ." Have townsmen no similar *realities*—the factories and workshops, the street lights and the murky fogs of a November day?

The book contains a most satisfying description of modern village life, the influences of the past which have worked to produce it as such; the influences of the present which are changing the face of rural England; the division of interests (past and present) between the inhabitants. How aptly Mr. Thomas appeals to the message of the bells to suggest the pull of the genuine conservatism of a past age—" 'Tis as 'twas: 'tis as 'twas." And so one obtains a clear and coherent picture of a village as it slowly and painfully (or is it really painlessly?) dies; as the younger generation migrates to towns and leaves behind a mixture of the older generation and "retired townsmen." This movement the author describes as "not a drift 'to the town,' but a purposive movement of youth from the bankruptcy and the social poverty of the countryside." Why does the young man and woman go from the village? Mr. Thomas has the answer, ranging from wage effects to neon lights. (While this review was being prepared, a correspondent in *The Times* (25/3/39) was lamenting how the R.A.F. had "lured" away a shepherd of twenty years' standing to become a waiter at seventy shillings a week, in place of his previous wage of forty shillings.) Even with the activities of leisure hours there is a preference for the town. In the realm of drama, for example, Mr. Thomas suggests "that the words 'professional' and 'amateur' have become terms of appraisal and condemnation."

The student of politics will not fail to be interested in the part dealing with local government. There is an amusing description of how members of the "proper" county hierarchy dispose, before election day, of rival candidates for the county council—so much more courteously than Tammany! It is refreshing to find Mr. Thomas as an admirer of parish councils. And he does not shrink from indicting reactionary elements. The fairness of his objective analysis can be judged from two excerpts:—

"Nevertheless, the fact remains that present rural government consists of two forms: the older, personal dominance of squirearchy and the modern democratic government of the nineteenth century."

"He (the organiser) is wrong when he dismisses the opposition to his ideas as prejudice, tyranny or corruption."

Of voluntary organisations the author has much to say, stressing the point that in their competition, each with the other, they are

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working against their own success. They aim to secure members, funds and even have to fight for a night to use the village hall. And though Mr. Thomas pays tribute to the "omnibus activities" of rural community councils, he asks, and pertinently, if they in common with other voluntary bodies are ameliorative only, or even reactionary? In effect, is it "slumming"? Of the Women's Institutes, he says: "Under normal conditions the movement will remain progressive at its own rate of progress: in time of crisis it might easily become reactionary." (I have before me a programme of a Women's Institute, on which appears this astonishing enjoinder: "Women's institutes are now in affiliation with the Board of Agriculture, and patriotic women of all classes are asked to join.")

There will be found in the book some assessment of the value of professional tutors in adult education, drama, music and the like. In all fairness it might be pointed out that Bristol University was earlier in the field, in the neighbouring counties of Gloucestershire and Somerset, than was the W.E.A. in Devon.

Mr. Thomas has much to say about improvement and suggested solutions of problems. It is no part of a reviewer's task to list these in detail. But, again, the student of local politics will not fail to be interested in his views of "regionalism" (and there can be added to the author's lists, the proposed "Defence Regions," twelve in number, for autonomy in time of crisis). But I think he was unfortunate in instancing the West Regional of the B.B.C. because, frankly, there isn't one: it is, until six o'clock in the evening, just National under another name, a source of constant irritation for those who live within the shadow of Washford! With regard to the Area Committees of the National Fitness Council, Mr. Thomas prays for many of us—"It is to be hoped sincerely that these regional organisations may belie their critics."

The tempered outlook of the author is best shown in his last two chapters, in which he discusses the social and economic problems of the countryside and urges a broader and more thoughtful consideration, not for the rural areas *per se* but for them as they fit into a national and international economy. His idealism is manifest—"Surely, however, the ingenuity exercised from 1936 to 1938 in manipulating a rearmament programme, with an enormous long-term debt upon a people a few years previously voting for peace, can be used for other purposes. If the will is there, the method can be devised."

A balanced account this, of our rural England, worthy of study by everyone interested (and who is not?) in the preservation and continued progress of our people, with the argument underlined in

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the description in Chapter V of the experiments of the Ambrosia Milk Company at Lapford, and of Dartington Hall, Ltd., at Dartington.
S. H. CAIR.

Health Insurance with Medical Care : British Experience

By DOUGLAS W. ORR, M.D., and JEAN WALKER ORR. (The Macmillan Company.) Pp. xiii + 271. 12s. net.

THIS is an American book on the British health insurance system. It is a good book and it makes a timely appearance. Public opinion in America, and especially medical opinion, was long opposed to the introduction of compulsory health insurance. It was regarded as savouring of "paternalism," which is held to be repugnant to the "rugged individualism" of the American character, and unnecessary in a country where people are accustomed to rely on individual energy and initiative to supply their wants. The report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, published in 1932, showed, however, that even before the depression millions of Americans were unable from their own individual resources to pay for the medical treatment they needed and, consequently, thousands of American doctors were unable to earn a professional income which could on any reasonable standard be considered adequate. Interest in health insurance was roused and the British system was discussed in various publications, which for the most part did little to dispel the misconceptions of the system prevalent in America. Two books of outstanding merit, however, appeared: *The Way of Health Insurance* (1932), by Mr. A. M. Simons and Dr. Nathan Sinai, published under the auspices of the American Dental Association, and Dr. I. S. Falk's admirable study of the British, Danish, French and German health insurance systems, *Security against Sickness* (1936). To these must now be added the volume under review.

In one respect it is as a study of health insurance probably unique; for Dr. and Mrs. Orr took exceptional pains to find out what is thought about the British system by the men and women insured under it. Their investigation began at Toynbee Hall and, with the help of Dr. Mallon, they were able to visit a number of settlements in various parts of the country, each of which served as a starting point for extensive inquiries among insured people. They missed no opportunity for extracting information about the practical working of health insurance. As they say: "Without even a twinge of conscience we interviewed everyone we met: the maids who tidied up our rooms, waiters who served our meals, and even the hairdresser at a store in Oxford Street." They met with a ready response; the insured people, they say, "enjoyed it because they in turn could bombard us with questions about Chicago and Hollywood

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... and once they realised that the United States really does not have anything like the British Health Insurance Scheme, they poured out opinions and experiences upon us." Personal interviews were supplemented by the issue of a questionnaire circulated in working men's clubs in London, Birmingham, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Plymouth, and elsewhere. It is safe to say that this inquiry is the most extensive so far made to find out what is thought of British health insurance by the insured persons themselves.

These questionings, however, formed only part of the authors' investigation. They set out to describe the administrative machine in its actual working, and for this purpose made an intensive study of documents and interviewed Government officers and representatives of approved societies, insurance committees and local medical committees. The medical points of view were further explored at the office of the British Medical Association and in interviews with representative doctors in various parts of the country. They sought information also on other agencies providing medical services: hospital contributory schemes, public medical services, public assistance, the school medical service and other health services of the local authorities. Their inquiries were carried out with unusual zest and enthusiasm and their book is very much alive.

Dr. and Mrs. Orr have succeeded in the difficult task of presenting a concise, accurate and readable description of the structure of the British health insurance system and of its actual working in relation to other public medical agencies. This alone is a remarkable achievement; for the administrative machine is a complicated affair, though the complications are more formidable in description than in practice. The book should be useful in correcting the misunderstandings of the system prevalent in America and as a source of information for people in this country. Though most Britons pay health insurance contributions, either as insured persons or employers, and are therefore directly interested in the health insurance system, it is highly probable that only an insignificant minority could pass the most elementary examination in its structure and function. Those who wish to inform themselves on this important element in the social life of modern Britain could not do better than begin with this informative and entertaining book.

The authors are convinced that our system "within its admittedly limited scope is regarded with general satisfaction and approved by doctors, insured persons and the public at large." But they mention certain criticisms with which they are in agreement. The range of the insurance medical service is limited, no provision being made for specialist treatment, and even this limited service is not made available for the dependants of the insured. In both these respects

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health insurance in this country compares unfavourably with the Continental systems. The authors think also that the maximum number of insured persons for whom an insurance doctor may accept responsibility, 2,500, should, in some areas at all events, be reduced, and that the duties of insurance doctors should be extended to include the periodic examination of their insured patients, a suitable increase being made in the capitation fee. Another suggestion is that the income-limit for non-manual workers should be raised from £250 to £400. The administration of the cash benefits through a large number of approved societies, not organised on a territorial basis, does not appeal to them as a precedent to be followed in any scheme that may be adopted in America. In their view an American approved society system, if set up at all, should be related to definite geographical divisions and should avoid the inequalities of benefit that have grown up in the British system. They conclude, however, that in an American scheme the cash benefits of health insurance should preferably be administered by the existing machinery for dealing with unemployment, the medical services being provided by a separate system of administration. This view is taken by other American students of health insurance.

Mr. Lloyd George contributes a foreword commending the book "warmly to the attention of the public, both in Britain and in America," and there is an interesting introduction by Miss Helen Hall, President of the American National Federation of Settlements, who, in 1931, carried out an investigation on somewhat similar lines into the British system of unemployment insurance.

G. F. McCLEARY.

B.M.A. Annual Report of the Council, 1937-8

Appendix III. A General Medical Service for the Nation.

LATELY there has come a demand for both the rationalisation as well as the improvement of our health services which have grown up as the result of numerous expedients and experiments. In response to this the B.M.A. have stated their position. Their statement is, as it were, given in evidence to a Royal Commission which is not sitting and comes as a valuable contribution to the discussion which has been carried on since the Royal Commission on National Health Insurance reported in 1926, and which has been marked by the publication of the Report of the Departmental Committee on the Scottish Health Services and the PEP Report on the British Health Services. That a professional body should devote thought and time to the preparation of this and the previous reports on particular aspects of the health services is in the public interest. But the B.M.A.

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cannot nor would it expect the public to accept its proposals without their critical examination by an impartial commission. For a body whose members are predominantly general practitioners must necessarily tend to lay particular stress on the importance of the unquestionably valuable service these doctors render to the community.

The B.M.A. proposal, "That there should be provided for every individual the services of a general practitioner or a family doctor of his own choice," has been accepted by the best authorities. The extension of National Health Insurance to the dependants of insured persons and other people outside the scheme earning under £250 per annum is generally recognised as the most practical, if not the most ideal, method of doing this. The absence of provision of this kind has led to the flooding of out-patient departments of hospitals with cases which could be better dealt with by a family doctor, and thus to the misuse of the country's facilities for combating ill-health. It has prevented young children and young persons from getting medical assistance as early as they should and consequently led to the deterioration of the health and physique of the nation.

The B.M.A. contend, however, that "The importance to a general practitioner and to the efficiency of his service to the community, of an association with a hospital is difficult to exaggerate. The contacts it affords with fellow practitioners and the team work it involves stimulate him to a higher standard of efficiency." Yet, in general practice he works in splendid isolation or with one or more partners. Surely, then, consideration should be given to proposals for encouraging general practitioners to work in groups centred on a well-equipped and properly staffed clinic, particularly since this would enable them to specialise and thus participate in the B.M.A.'s proposed consultant service.

Some assurance that proposals on these lines were being considered would make the public more willing to concede "that the interests of the public are best served in an organised medical service by putting as much responsibility as possible on the doctors giving the services. . . . There are no severer critics of delinquent doctors than their own colleagues invested with the control of purely professional affairs." Professional self-government is very desirable provided it is confined solely to professional matters, but the public must be convinced that long-standing traditions, which may have served a useful purpose in the past, are not going to stand in the way of reform. Free competition is, we hope, now to be replaced by co-operation in the patient's interests. The principle of self-government must be preserved or granted even in a municipal hospital, but, if the public is to accept this, the medical profession

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must itself co-operate with the public and the local authorities without reserve. At least this report is evidence of its willingness to do so.

"Complete and all-embracing units for local public health administration" should be created, and public health and medical responsibilities, except the control of hospitals, should be allotted to the councils of areas with populations of not less than 75,000 to 100,000. This scheme at least has the merit of simplicity and certainly deserves careful consideration in view of the present often arbitrary divisions of function between authorities. Further, it is argued, medical practitioners should be co-opted on to committees and sub-committees dealing with medical services. Such a procedure would, admittedly, be merely following the precedent set in the case of many education committees.

The B.M.A., following modern thought, which it has itself helped to mould, envisages not a local but a *regional* organisation of hospital services. But it criticises the Sankey Commission's proposals that regional councils for the voluntary hospitals should be set up as unlikely to produce complete co-operation between local authorities and these hospitals. The Report also emphasises the need for separating contributory schemes from particular voluntary hospitals and giving them reference to groups of hospitals. Having arrived at these conclusions, which it might be thought would have led yet further, the report turns to deal with professional problems such as those connected with the pay and conditions of appointment of hospital staffs.

If national health insurance is to be extended to include very much larger numbers and to provide additional benefits, surely it might also be extended to include hospital benefit. Then hospitals, whether municipal or voluntary, could be assisted from the "fund" and the anomaly removed under which, at present, contributory schemes are enabled to pay large sums to voluntary hospitals because the municipal hospitals are under covenant to treat patients at very low rates and to accept all those whom the voluntary hospitals refuse to take. Moreover, such a plan would cost the present contributors less, since the expenses of collecting voluntary payments are much higher than those of collecting National Health Insurance contributions.

Again, the B.M.A. do not boldly recommend, perhaps for tactical reasons, any unification of the two hospital systems which, since the September Crisis, appears more probable than it was last year. Hospitals must be organised without regard to ownership to meet the demands which a crisis might make on them. Since municipal hospitals of all kinds provide nearly three-quarters of the available hospital beds, including about 57,000 beds in general hospitals, it is

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impossible to ignore their importance. In fact, in an emergency, some regional *ad hoc* body, comparable to the Joint Hospital Advisory Board in Manchester and the Oxford and District Board, but endowed with larger powers than these boards, will almost certainly have to administer hospitals of all kinds, subject to the control of central government. Perhaps in time of peace similar regional bodies composed of representatives of all the interested parties might be set up. For, as the voluntary hospitals become more and more dependent on the payments received from local authorities, contributory schemes and patients' payments, the present division between the two types of hospital becomes increasingly unnecessary.

Improvement of the health services on the lines the B.M.A. outline is urgently needed. Their advocacy of it is evidence that the leaders of the medical profession are whole-hearted reformers. Thus, the task of the administrator who must implement the reforms will be lightened. Moreover, the B.M.A.'s proposals concerning administration deserve careful and thoughtful consideration, although their full value will only emerge after detached and critical discussion.

T. MALING.

Public Employment Service in the United States

By RAYMOND C. ATKINSON, LOUISE C. ODENCRANTZ, and BEN DEMING.
Published for the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council by Public Administration Service, Chicago.
(Studies in Administration, Vol. V.) Pp. xiii + 482.

MEMBERS of the Institute must be familiar with the American method of training students in Public Administration. In addition to the usual university curriculum, the student must undergo field training of a very practical character in the service of a federal, state or municipal authority. This practice commends itself at a first glance. There are some people, however, who argue that the value of such a course is over-rated. The most effective answer to the sceptics is that the scheme is justified by results, one of which is the book under review.

Many British writers on Public Administration, even on its most concrete aspects, are unduly academic. They ignore the fact that a system of administration, to justify itself, must work. Others are narrowly practical, despising any attempt consciously to systematise experience.

The authors of "Public Employment Service in the United States" always remember that a scheme of administration must work, but, at the same time, they have no vested interest in preserving the existing or any other scheme. This is the justification for

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the system of training in Public Administration of which the authors are products.

The foregoing comments are not strictly relevant to the subject-matter of the book, but rather to its general character. Comparison with certain British works into which I have been dipping makes this diversion seem appropriate.

Public Employment Service (the American term for the work carried on by the Ministry of Labour) and Unemployment Compensation (Unemployment Benefit) in the United States are the product of the depression of 1929. The rate of expansion has been much greater than in this country, and certain features emerged in 1929 which are only becoming apparent in Britain in 1939. The function of British employment service was (1) to secure speedy placement of unemployed workers in private employment; (2) to administer the insurance system; and (3) for practical purposes, very recently and partially, to instigate public works schemes. In the United States there was no system of insurance and practically no placement service in 1929. Since these cannot be created in a few months we find that the initial efforts of the United States Employment Service are mainly concerned with placing workers in emergency public works schemes. The other functions, which we regard as normal, are still somewhat overshadowed by the original emphasis on public works.

The book contains many remarks which must startle the British reader into taking a closer look at the Ministry of Labour. I do not remember ever having read that there should be a cleavage between insurance and placement business in Britain. But the authors discuss this proposition for which there is apparently some considerable support in the United States. Their own conclusion is that "In European countries employment service and unemployment compensation have come to be viewed, not as two different functions, but as two types of activities involved in the performance of one broad function—the treatment of unemployment. No doubt this concept will gain increasing acceptance in the United States as these activities become better established and their organisation better adjusted to the task. The sooner this view is adopted the more rapidly employment service and unemployment compensation will be brought into effective working relation."

Another interesting difference is that in the United States benefit is payable by mail. Is this not the solution to the problems of overcrowded exchanges, of miserable slow-moving queues of ill-clad men exposed to all kinds of weather?

The political structure of the United States has influenced the administrative pattern. The Public Employment Service is the joint enterprise of federal and states government. The details of adminis-

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tration is the concern of the state, but the federal government provides most of the money and exercises general supervision over the state agencies. The supervision is carried out jointly by the United States Employment Service and the Social Security Board, which is concerned with unemployment benefit. (It was the existence of these bodies separately which gave rise to the question of unified or divided administration of placement and benefit administration.) The Social Security Board, early in 1937, announced that it would regard unemployment benefit and employment service as a unified undertaking and would make grants in respect of the latter as an essential part of the cost of administering the former.

States, to be eligible for social security grants, must comply with the conditions of the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933. This involves the creation of a state employment agency with power to co-operate with the United States Employment Service. The state must accept the provisions of the Act, and provide from state and local sources a sum equal to the federal grant under this Act. Thus there are more than one or two departments profoundly interested in the financial aspect of the Service. The federal government in 1936-37 provided 67 per cent. of the money expended by state employment services. This is regarded as an unusually high proportion relatively to other services for which the federal government makes grants to the states. At the beginning of 1937, 57 per cent. of employment services' personnel consisted of federal employees. In the past, states have generally contributed at least half of the expenditure on any service for which they received federal aid. In the case of employment service, however, their financial responsibility is only an attenuated shadow of their administrative interest. Further, the disproportion between these two factors is increasing. This gives rise to the important question of "whether the responsibility for administration and that for financing can safely be separated to the degree that exists in public employment service and unemployment compensation. It is an experiment. Actual experience must, of course, provide the answer, but the burden of proof clearly rests with the new plan, for it runs counter to established principles."

It is stressed that the dangers inherent in this system of financing must be faced. Provision must be made to forestall the abuses which might easily arise.

The authors describe in detail negotiations between the federal government and the states. The basis of these negotiations is an annual plan and agreement which includes standards of service based on details of population, location of offices, charts of organisation and a budget for each office. "The completed document is at once a charter and an operating programme for the ensuing year." When

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first introduced, these annual agreements caused much discussion of details. State officials were very unwilling to agree to have merit examinations for the selection of employees. In some cases it was necessary to threaten the withholding of federal grants in order to make the official adopt a more enlightened attitude.

It is difficult to do justice to this book. There are so many points which merit quotation, and the authors cannot be accused of omitting any feature of value. The chapter on the training of personnel deserves special mention. It is clear that the authors had full co-operation from the departments concerned. They were given opportunities for extensive field work. As a consequence, we are presented with a picture of the service as a whole. At the same time we are given concrete examples of the administration of the basic unit—the employment exchange. Routine, personnel, placement of special types of workers, these are all considered.

It is clear that the United States, while re-acting to this new immigrant—large-scale unemployment—with great vigour, is not pursuing a blindly opportunist policy. Results are being examined and attempts are being made to correct defects. This book, which received a large amount of official collaboration, is ample proof of this fact. The authors are to be congratulated on a very competent production. Students of comparative public administration will derive profound satisfaction from its pages. The price is not quoted.

J. S. COVENTRY.

Notes

A.R.P.—A Mock City Council.

A MOST interesting meeting of the Birmingham and West Midlands Regional Group was held on the 20th January, 1939. The meeting adopted the form and procedure of a "Mock" City Council, the subject discussed being the topical one of A.R.P. Administration. Upwards of 110 members and other public officials attended, and reports were presented on various aspects of A.R.P. The Chairman of the Birmingham A.R.P. Committee was an interested spectator.

The following "Rules Governing Debate in Council" were circulated to members:—

1. No Member may address the Council more than once on any resolution. A Member may, however, speak to a point of order, or in explanation, but such explanation shall be only in reference to some material part of his former speech which may have been misunderstood.

2. Discussion must be confined to the subject-matter of the particular resolution before the Council.

3. On a resolution approving the report of a Committee, Members are permitted to address the Council on any matter relating to A.R.P., whether included in the report of such Committee or not, so long as the matter comes within the purview of that Committee.

For the information of new Members of the City Council, the several branches of A.R.P. are delegated to Committees as follows:—

(1) Highways Committee.

Rescue parties, demolition and clearance of debris.

Gas Detection.

Decontamination Services.

Repair Services.

Provision of shelters for the protection of the public.

Lighting in highways, streets and public places.

Protection of premises essential in time of war (so far as not included under other services).

(2) Fire Brigade Committee.

Air Raid Fire Precautions—

Administration and Staff (Auxiliary Fire Service).

Accommodation.

Recruitment, equipment and training of emergency personnel.

Emergency appliances and equipment.

Vehicles.

Water supplies.

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(3) *Public Health Committee.*

Casualty Services—

- (a) First-aid parties.
- (b) First-aid posts.
- (c) Casualty clearing stations.
- (d) Ambulance services.

(4) *General Purposes Committee.*

- Instruction and advice to public.
- Information and warnings of air raids.
- Air raid Wardens.
- Recruitment and training of personnel.
- Storage and distribution of respirators.
- Transfer of the civil population.
- Arrangements for control and co-ordination in time of war.

The discussion was of a practical kind and several useful suggestions emerged.

Southern Rhodesia—Report of Commission on Promotions, etc.

IN September, 1938, a Commission was appointed by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia to inquire into the working of the Public Services Board of the Colony, particularly with regard to the methods of promotion in the Government Services. The Commission got to work expeditiously, and by the end of November, after holding 72 sessions and hearing 105 witnesses, presented its report, which has now been published.

In the report the Commission reviews the constitution of the Public Services Board, which consists of a full-time chairman and two part-time members, one of them nominated by the Staff Associations—an exceptional feature in such boards. No substantial change in the constitution is recommended. Decisions of the Board are to be rejected or varied only by the Governor-in-Council and such rejection or variation must forthwith be reported to Parliament.

The Commission recommends that three full-time inspectors shall be appointed, to assist the Board with intimate knowledge of the departments and the staff. Further, a proposal is made for the setting up of departmental Promotion Committees, to consist of three members selected from officers of the department concerned. Of the three members one is to be appointed by the head of the division or department, one by the Public Services Board and one by the staff, normally through a recognised Association. The promotion committee so constituted is to have advisory functions only, and is to submit its recommendations to the Board through the head of the department, who will be entitled to make his comments on them. It is difficult, however, to see how the Board will be able to override recommendations coming to it with the strong local backing of a committee of this character, especially if the "advice" has the support of the head of the department. The provision for staff representation on the Board and on the committees is a development which will be watched with general interest.

A large section of the report is occupied with an examination of the problem of adjusting the two elements of seniority and merit. In the end the Commissioners say they cannot do other than endorse the consensus of opinion among the various bodies which have dealt with the subject, including the Tomlin Commission and the National Whitley Council, in favour of merit as the predominant factor in promotion of public servants.

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The Commissioners state the policy in a fresh form, and in this they embody the principle approved by the Tomlin Commission and the National Whitley Council of allowing greater weight for seniority in the case of lower appointments than in that of higher appointments. The Commission's statement of the policy is as follows:—

"In the event of two or more officers being candidates for promotion to a vacant post, preference shall be given by the Board, in its recommendations, to that officer who, in the opinion of the Board, and subject to the factors hereinafter set forth, is the most efficient and suitable for appointment to the post. In making its recommendations, the Board shall have consideration for and give due weight—in the manner directed—to the following factors:—

(a) The disparity in rank between the different officers. In considering this factor the Board shall be guided by the principle that the greater the disparity in rank the more exceptional must be the efficiency and suitability of the junior candidate.

(b) The character and responsibilities of the work of the vacant post. In considering this factor the Board shall be guided by the principle that more relative weight shall be given to seniority if the work of the vacant post is of a routine character, and that such weight shall decrease in an inverse ratio to the increase of the responsibilities involved and the initiative required by the work."

In the application of the policy, provision is to be made for every eligible officer who may be superseded as the result of a contemplated promotion to be given an opportunity of stating his case, in person if practicable, or if that be impracticable, in writing. This looks as if it may prove a troublesome and illogical concession to the rejected principle of promotion primarily by seniority: its laudable object is to ensure that before the Board makes its decision the claims of eligible officers shall have been fully considered. In connection with this object the Commission recommends that the Board should interview candidates, especially when it does not know them personally, but "the interview should be regarded more as a means of checking information than as a test in itself."

The subject of Staff Reports is considered by the Commission, and it recommends the adoption of the amended form of annual report recently approved by the National Whitley Council for use at home: power is however to be given to the Public Services Board to alter or improve the form. On the question of the confidential character of the report, the Commissioners say that "the report is for the information of the Board and not of the officer reported on, and we recommend that, subject to giving an officer a copy of any 'D' or 'E' markings, it should be confidential." The communication of "D" markings, indicating "indifferent" performance of duties, goes further than is the case with the National Whitley Council, which contemplates the communication only of "E" markings—"poor"—and then with certain exceptions.

A further subject considered by the Commission is that of inter-departmental promotions, and on this it recommends a policy which is described as that of "flexibility and the open field." As part of this policy, the Commissioners advise the undertaking by the Public Services Board of a complete survey of the Service—posts and persons—and they think the Board should have charge of inter-departmental transfers of junior officers. The postal and telegraph service should however, they consider, be treated as self-contained, but with fluidity of transfer and promotion as between administrative and executive branches. Throughout the service, technical officers are to be eligible for promotion to the higher administrative posts.

The report deal with a number of matters of local interest. One of these has a wider interest also. Arrangements exist in the Southern Rhodesian service for

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advancement within the incremental scale, possibly carrying improved seniority, (a) for exceptional ability, (b) for special qualifications, including passing certain examinations and (c) for specially meritorious service. As regards (a), the Commission recommends that the provision should be retained but that it should be applied very sparingly and only for exceptional reasons; as regards (b), that the obtaining of appropriate academic qualifications should in future be recognised by a bonus not affecting seniority; and as regards (c), it finds that "the operation of the provision has created unwarranted hardship and consequently some discontent," and, presumably, that it should therefore be abolished.

A. J. W.

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The Municipal Year Book and Encyclopædia of Local Government Administration.
Published by The Municipal Journal, Ltd., 3-4, Clement's Inn, Strand, London,
W.C.2. 35s. net.

THE 1939 edition of this work is the largest since the volume was founded in 1897. It comprises 1,754 pages, 42 more than last year; embraced in 55 sections covering all the most important branches of the civic administration, as compared with 50 in the 1938 edition. Forty-six sections are devoted to the different phases of the administration, and nine sections comprise the descriptive records of National and Local Authorities, and names and addresses of Members of Councils and Chief Officers in England, Wales, Scotland, and Eire; and also lists of Joint Authorities.

The increase in the number of sections this year results from a rearrangement of the classification and the addition of four new sections. Roads and Transport have been arranged in separate sections. Housing and Slum Clearance have been combined. The new sections are: The Local Government Service, including decisions of the Minister of Health under the Local Government Superannuation (Administration) Regulations, 1938; the Air Raid Precautions Service, in which are included financial statistics which have never been gathered before; the administration of the Food and Drugs Law; and a section relating to the status of Municipal Boroughs. Many of the statistical tables have been substantially extended, thus making them of greater utility to the administration for comparative and other purposes.

Attention may be called to the comprehensive review of Local Government in 1938; the survey of recent legislation; the digest of Leading Cases affecting Local Government; the reviews of roads, finance, electricity, gas, housing, public health, education, libraries, parks, public assistance, sewage disposal, public cleansing, water supply, fire brigade, baths, industrial development, and other services, in which are included all the salient data relating to latest developments and also comprehensive statistics.

Mr. Walter Elliot, Minister of Health, contributes a general preface to the volume, which he describes as "an indispensable companion to everyone interested in Local Government." He traces briefly developments in the administration during the last 50 years, and says: "This fine record of progress is a tribute to the efficiency of our system of Local Government. . . . The progress and expansion in the services provided by Local Government during the past fifty years, and the efficiency with which those services are run, should serve to show what a democratic system can achieve without the administration of a too centralised system of government."

Mr. Leslie Burgin, Minister of Transport, writes a Foreword to the Roads and Transport Sections.

Women Servants of the State. By Hilda Martindale, C.B.E. Pp. 217. 7s. 6d.

DEAR SIR,—I have read with interest Mrs. White's review in your Journal for January, 1939, of Miss Martindale's book "Women Servants of the State."

I cannot but regret, however, that the note struck by Mrs. White in her review does not accord more closely with the general tenor of Miss Martindale's

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own writing. Hers it not a record of the injustices meted out to women in the Civil Service, but of the admittedly slow but steady progress made by them (1) in securing increased opportunities for service, and (2) in establishing and obtaining recognition of the value of such service.

Admittedly there is still prejudice to be overcome, but I think we owe a debt to Miss Martindale that she has kept her subject free from acrimonious controversy and has given us a record of service of which humour, broad-mindedness and public spirit are the underlying characteristics.

There is one additional point which calls for comment. The phrase "Women's inability to serve overseas" on p. 109, which Mrs. White alludes to as a slip, should quite obviously be taken as referring to an imposed inability, not an inherent one.

I should be very much obliged if you could see your way to include this letter or the purport of it in the next issue of your Journal.

Yours truly,

(Miss) E. SANDAY.

"THREE BOOKS ON PROPAGANDA."

Propaganda. Richard S. Lambert. (Nelson, 1938.) 2s.

THERE are welcome signs that the almost complete lack of any British study of propaganda is at last being remedied. Mr. Lambert, who, until his recently reported resignation, has edited *The Listener* so successfully during its first ten years, has provided a good little general introduction reviewing the principal forms taken by this phenomenon which has recently come to be such a plague to Society. He reviews, necessarily briefly and without any very fundamental psychological discussions, the main forms and vehicles of the art of interested persuasion as it is carried on to-day, including some account of advertising, the Press, films (rather surprisingly described as "a far more powerful instrument for influencing thought than the printed word or, probably, than the spoken word"), wireless, voluntary associations and societies, public relations, cultural propaganda, censorship and Government propaganda.

The treatment is rather more descriptive than critical, although in the seven concluding pages Mr. Lambert has some useful remarks on antidotes to propaganda.

It would be unfair to expect a political-psychological treatise in what is an outline of the subject for the general reader.

At the same time, Mr. Lambert's approach to the question is embarrassed because he thinks it impossible to draw any clear line between education and propaganda. There is, he says, "no fundamental distinction between the two," and he even goes to the length of describing education as a higher form of propaganda. Besides being shocking, this is also untrue, as his earlier remark should have reminded him—"for all ordinary purposes there exists in our minds an antithesis between education and propaganda." The point is clearly vital and it is difficult to see why he is reluctant to vindicate the legitimacy of the antithesis. It seems desirable, particularly as he very appositely warns us not to "see propaganda in everything," to restrict the use of the word "propaganda" to the very practical and definite sense of deliberately devised interested persuasion. If the word is defined in such a way, Mr. Lambert need not have fallen into the trap of talking about "unconscious" propaganda when what he really means seems to be the strength of habit or tradition. Acting under such influences, it is true that people may behave in such a way as to further their own interests amongst others without being conscious of exerting any effort to do so. Such behaviour, however, is clearly something very different from the carefully planned and organised activities of the propaganda merchant, and the difference, surely,

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is precisely that the latter is "conscious" and cannot be "unconscious." Indeed "unconscious" propaganda is dangerously akin to the "unknowable," a pseudo-concept which has rightly been rejected in philosophy.

Propaganda in the Next War. Sidney Rogerson. (Geoffrey Bles, 1938.) 5s.

"THERE does not seem to be a great future for the direct propaganda offensive in the next war," concludes Mr. Rogerson, "unless this should turn out to be a protracted and wearying affair."

This will be a disappointing conclusion to any who believe, as he himself also does, that the end of the last war came when it did largely because of the efficiency of the Allied propaganda machinery.

Whether this be true or not, and Mr. Rogerson advances reasons for his belief, he thinks that there is little hope of repeating such a success.

It is disturbing therefore to find a publicity expert of his standing reporting that, "while the totalitarian countries are fresh and confident, I cannot see any constructive line of propaganda policy that is open to us to pursue against them." This may be bad enough, but still worse is his opinion that "our case towards neutrals appears to lack a mainspring." With this pessimistic opinion may be bracketed his still more emphatic opinion that "cultural propaganda is a dilettante vision." It is true that this view seems to rest as much upon his poor opinion of the qualifications and abilities of those at present engaged on the work as upon any reasoned discussion of the possibility of nation speaking to nation about its ideals and achievements.

Although there is much in his book which will be very much to the point if the war he considers ever comes, his main position seems to be unnecessarily weakened in two ways. In the first place he, like Mr. Lambert, does not clearly distinguish what he means by propaganda. It is a defect which is admittedly difficult to remedy, but unless it is remedied much of the discussion can have little meaning. The definition he gives (p. 9), "the formulation of a desired opinion or set of opinions in the public mind by the deliberate use of any or all the vehicles of expression," offers no opportunity of distinguishing propaganda from education or publicity in the restricted sense of making something known. Yet propaganda has a task different both from that of education and simple publicity. In the second place, although Mr. Rogerson may be correct in believing that it is useless to harp on the virtues of democracy as the main string in our propaganda towards countries whose experience in attempting such a form of government has been unsuccessful, his own passing reference to the "British rule of law" might have led him to consider whether the rule of law and the triumph of elementary principles of justice might not be without efficacy even where "democracy" itself is suspect. A square deal can surely be appreciated everywhere, not least in lands where arbitrary confiscations, conscriptions and punishment have become the order of the day.

The immediate task in Mr. Rogerson's view lies on the home front. It is vitally necessary, he thinks, to begin at once to develop an organisation to create, sustain and direct national morale. Although he personally would establish a Ministry of Information, he is content to advocate a central co-ordinating council, representing the newspapers, the film industry, the B.B.C., the British Council and the Press officers of the various Government Departments.

Such a proposal raises some vast problems with which Mr. Rogerson does not deal. He is concerned with the advantages of a more active propaganda machinery, but he, like Mr. Lambert, has much less to say about its difficulties and dangers. The reaction of machinery, such as he suggests, upon democratic liberties and its relation to Parliamentary government are by no means clear. Doubts upon such weighty matters are not likely to be allayed by Mr. Rogerson's, perhaps hasty,

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wish that most voluntary societies, associations, federations and unions should be abolished "in the interests of efficiency."

Propaganda Boom. A. J. Mackenzie, LL.B. (John Gifford, Ltd., 1938.) 10s. 6d.

IN "Propaganda Boom" Mr. Mackenzie has provided a very readable descriptive survey of some of the leading features in the recent development of State propaganda by Russia, Italy and Germany. He prefaces this main part of the work with some general considerations upon the nature of propaganda which nowhere go very deeply into the many complicated problems involved. At the end of the book he wisely eschews dogmatism upon the degree to which democratic opinion can count upon a spontaneous reaction of citizens of the totalitarian States away from the propaganda by which they are submerged. He considers that the democracies as well "can vastly increase their own strength by positive propaganda," and he calls for a Ministry of Information at home and a greatly expanded propaganda among foreign countries, giving a few indications of the lines along which such increased activities might expand.

F. R. C.

Economical Administration of Health Insurance Benefits. (P. S. King & Sons.) Pp. 332. 7s.

THE author of this volume, Dr. Walter Pryll, has chosen a new and happy method of presenting a problem which has exercised the minds of both legislators and administrators since the inception of compulsory schemes of sickness insurance. Much has been written at various times on individual aspects of the question of the economical administration of sickness insurance, but the aim of this work is to set out for the first time, comprehensively, the various problems confronting doctors and insurance institutions in the organisation and maintenance of insurance schemes on economical lines. The managers of the institutions are trustees for the insured persons of the funds out of which the benefits are paid, and economy in administration is required of them by the legislative enactments by which control of the funds is vested in them. Moreover, economy is necessitated by the limited income of the funds, since this is derived in the main from compulsory contributions from the earnings of insured persons and their employers, and the contributions must bear a proper relation to the earnings.

In Part I of the volume the author defines the principle of economy, and explains the general application of the principle to the administration of social insurance schemes, and the limitations which various factors inherent in the nature and scope of such schemes impose on the application of the principle. Next, since economy and efficiency cannot be achieved by the insurance institutions without the loyal and intelligent co-operation of the doctors, the whole activity of the insurance practitioner is surveyed systematically from the point of view of the application of the principle of economy.

The nature and extent of the treatment provided by a scheme of sickness insurance are prescribed in the Act and Regulations which set up the scheme. Accordingly, a doctor who has undertaken to give his services under the scheme must conform to these requirements and also to the rules, or terms of service, which form part of his contract with the insurance institution, and define his obligations both to the institution and to the insured persons for whose treatment in ill-health he has assumed responsibility. These restrictions may appear at first to conflict with the doctor's conception of his professional status and of his duty to his patients, and some readjustment of his ideas may be necessary before he can take his proper place in the scheme. Economy must be his watchword in every phase of his service, as much in diagnosing and treatment as in prescribing, his fixed purpose being to secure adequacy at a reasonable price. Moreover, he

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must endeavour to inculcate the principle of economy in the minds of his insured patients whose excessive claims for benefit may jeopardise the solvency of the fund.

The author does not attempt to lay down any rigid rules for the guidance of insurance practitioners. The book, however, should admirably achieve the purpose for which it was written, which, to quote the author's own words, "is to stimulate discussion and contribute to developing among insurance practitioners an attitude of mind favourable to the application of economy in sickness insurance."

Part II of the volume contains an analysis of the laws, regulations and principles concerning economical treatment and prescribing in force in various countries, and Part III gives an account of the work of the Committee of Experts convened by the International Labour Office, the conclusions it adopted, and the attitude taken on the subject of economical treatment and prescribing by the International Medical Association and the International Conference of Social Insurance and Mutual Aid.

The work presents a very thorough and informative study of the problem of economy in the administration of sickness insurance, and is warmly recommended to administrators, insurance practitioners and all who are interested in the improvement of the social services.

H. A.

The Councillor. A. N. C. Shelley. (Thomas Nelson & Sons.) Pp. 191. 2s.

THIS is one of the Nelson series of "discussion books." I know of no book which gives in such small compass a better account of the local government of England and Wales, and it can be highly commended, not only to those for whom it has been primarily prepared, "electors and elected," but also to officers. It is admirably written and is pleasingly informed with that touch of practical affairs which Mr. Shelley has gained from an extensive and, in some matters, almost unique, experience. It is a pleasure to find a volume of this kind with so wide a background of the actual work and problems of local government, as distinct from its legal framework. Not that the legal framework is neglected, the author can be trusted for that. Here and there, too, there are interesting comments by the way, such as those on our fondness for changing names where they have gotten themselves a bad flavour. An instance (pp. 106-7), is the change by law, a few years ago, of "asylum" (originally meaning a place of refuge) to "mental hospital," and of "lunatic" (first itself adopted as an euphemism) to "person of unsound mind," "except in relation to criminal lunatics and (a delightful touch of unintended statutory humour) persons confined in asylums outside England and Wales." Yet the changes are not mere escapes from what has become unpleasant but signify a change of outlook and of practice. Though the book is primarily devoted to describing the system as it is, yet there is a good deal of history in its pages. It treats of areas, officers, finance, local legislation and bye-laws, the several general functions, from public health to trading undertakings, and ends with a chapter of conclusions which deals with trends towards larger authorities, comparisons with other countries, the incursion of party government, the relations of electors, elected and officers, of different classes of authorities and of central and local authorities; a short bibliography is added. A really excellent little volume, which students should find most useful.

I. G. G.

The Standard of Living in Bristol: A Preliminary Report of the University of Bristol Social Survey. By Herbert Tout, M.A. Pp. 64. (Arrowsmith, 1938.) 1s.

MEMBERS who attended our Summer Conference at Wills Hall, Bristol, will remember the interesting exhibition showing the methods adopted in collecting

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and analysing data for this Report.' One could not but be impressed by the quiet competence of the exhibition, and the Report, now published, does nothing to diminish that favourable impression.

The survey was carried through during the period from May till October, 1937. Now, Bristol is a relatively prosperous town, and the Report states that the period under review coincides with the peak of the business revival which commenced in 1932. Yet the lowest number of registered unemployed in that period was 11,651. The income of 10.7 per cent. of the families, representing 11.8 per cent. of persons surveyed, was insufficient to maintain the minimum standard of needs prescribed by the Report. And "It is an appalling fact that one working-class child in every five comes from a home where the income is inadequate to provide a bare minimum standard according to the austere Survey rules. It means that in these homes there is not enough income to provide the minimum diets prescribed by the British Medical Association, diets which themselves have been subjected to criticism on the ground that they do not allow enough milk for growing children."

The minimum standard laid down is far from extravagant, allowing nothing, in fact, for social or recreative expenditure. This adds to the effectiveness of the Report as a means of stimulating a really adequate attempt to raise the standard of living of the people. No one who reads the Report would care to be expected to achieve such wonders of asceticism as are prescribed in the standard of minimum needs. By conventional, as opposed to survey standards, the degree of economic suffering in Bristol at its most prosperous period must have been considerably in excess of 10 per cent.

In round numbers, which are rather less than the absolute figures, there are 100,000 families. Of these 11,000 are below the minimum standard, 21,000 barely above, and 68,000 definitely above.

Facts such as these are particularly valuable because they represent the grim reality which is not apparent to more fortunate people. Then, too, for people who are only familiar with "prosperous" places such as Bristol, such facts provide a slight conception of the extent of mass-poverty in a really depressed area.

The Report gives a full description of the methods adopted in the Survey work and in determining the minimum standard. Statistical tables are lucidly and simply arranged. The Report is so produced that it might well be popularised among the intelligent sections of the reading public.

Such a valuable social document should not be reserved only for persons whose interest is mainly technical or academic.

The University of Bristol Social Survey will, we hope, publish further reports of this character.

J. S. C.

Migration to and from the Merseyside. R. S. Walshaw. Pp. 40. 1s.

Handbook of Social Statistics. D. Caradog Jones. Pp. 32. 1s. (University Press, Liverpool.)

THESE two little books are issued by the University of Liverpool Social Science Department, in pursuance of its policy of keeping a constant watch on changing social conditions in the Merseyside. The first is an interesting study of the various groups of foreign residents, the currents of migration to and from the area, and, in particular, of Irish immigration. The author shows that the loss of population by migration reached a peak in 1929, changed into an inward balance by 1933, and then revived again; that these variations were connected with general employment prospects in the country as a whole, with a lag of one year, and that immigration from the Irish Free State went on all through the depression.

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The handbook gathers together the various official social statistics relating to the Merseyside, respecting the declining rate of increase of population, trade, employment, expenditure on various forms of unemployment benefit and assistance, the progress of educational reorganisation and housing. It is a useful little handbook of figures likely to be of service to local social workers of all kinds.

P. F.

Historical Studies in the Development of Local Government Services in Edinburgh. (Wm. Hodge & Co., Ltd.)

THIS booklet is the last of a series of three which has been issued under the auspices of the Edinburgh and District Branch of the National Association of Local Government Officers. It consists of reprints of lectures delivered by officers of the Edinburgh Corporation on four aspects of local government work, of which they have expert knowledge. Mr. J. Bowman, Depute Water Engineer, deals with the subject of the Corporation's Water Supply; Mr. Allan W. Ritchie, Chief Sanitary Inspector, with the sanitary service; Mr. W. B. R. Morren, M.V.O., Chief Constable, with the watching service; and Mr. J. T. Jeffrey, Superintendent of Parks, with the Parks Department. In each case the writers have combined a brief historical survey of their respective subjects in so far as they affect Edinburgh with an account of the present activities of their departments. Both the giving of such lectures and the subsequent publication of them are useful and interesting experiments in connection with increasing the knowledge of the public with regard to the benefits they receive from civic services. The Edinburgh and District Branch of the Association, as well as the officers who have given such interesting and succinct accounts of the work of their respective departments, deserve commendation for their enterprise. It is to be hoped that other branches of N.A.L.G.O. will follow their excellent example.

C. K. W.

Government Corporations and State Law. By Ruth G. Weintraub. (Columbia University Press, New York; P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1938.) 118s.

IN 1819 the Supreme Court of the U.S.A., held in *McCulloch v. Maryland* that a State could not impose a tax upon the note issue of a Federal bank as "the power to tax involves the power to destroy." Out of this decision arose what is now known as the doctrine of instrumentalities. It is a decision which has an important bearing on any federal system, and the results of its working under the American Constitution is particularly interesting in England because it has not been followed in the case of the federations within the British Commonwealth. The doctrine was rejected by the Privy Council as a limitation of the powers of the provincial legislatures on the mere speculation that they would be used in an injurious manner. The American Courts, however, continued to follow the doctrine first outlined in *McCullough v. Maryland*, with the result that when the Federal Government entered the commercial field during the years of crisis that followed America's entry into the World War and the economic collapse of 1931, the advantage of freedom from the restriction of State control became an extremely valuable asset.

Difficulties have inevitably arisen, as two examples taken from Miss Weintraub's book show only too clearly. In order to carry out their functions certain of the Federal corporations need to use petrol for their motor engines. Petrol is taxed by the States, but the tax is paid by the person who supplies the corporation, not by the corporation itself. Nevertheless, everybody knows that in fact it is the consumer who pays the tax and not the retailer; the Courts have accordingly held that petrol (gasoline) supplied to Federal corporations shall be

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free of tax. The ramifications of this decision are visualised in Mr. Justice Cardozo's forecast that the next step would be to claim immunity for oil still in process of being refined. Again, if a Federal corporation is to claim immunity from taxation it must be prepared to forego the advantages of citizenship for its members. The Tennessee Valley Authority in building huge dams occupies large tracts of territory and plants whole populations, which the local education authorities refuse to educate without some guarantee of payment.

How the problems raised by these situations are being faced and solved amicably is the story of this book. It shows that whatever decision the Courts may reach, a solution to an economic difficulty will be found by some other means if necessary. The general solution is that of paying block grants for services rendered. A stimulating and readable book.

A. W. P.

Library Local Collections. W. C. Berwick Sayers, F.L.A. (Allen & Unwin, Ltd.) Pp. 128. 5s. net.

This little book in the *Practical Library Handbooks* series is a useful introduction—written by one who has had much experience in forming an important local collection—to the establishment and management of a collection of books, manuscripts, deeds, coins, photographs, maps, plans, prints, drawings and other records relating to a specific district. After stating that the purpose of a local collection is to obtain and preserve such records, emphasising the need to restrict the area covered by the collection so that it does not uselessly overlap other local collections in nearby towns, the author mentions the various kinds of record and describes how they may be classified, catalogued and preserved, and how the collection may be brought to the notice of the public. In connection with the preservation of deeds, he mentions that large deeds which have some relation to one another are tied in bundles with tape, and describes how at his own library they are placed in folders and filed in a vertical file. Many large deeds which are folded several times and tied in bundles become so worn that it is difficult to decipher them, and it is a pity that the author did not condemn this method and recommend that such deeds should be preserved flat (folded once or twice if necessary) in portfolios, as is the practice at the Public Record Office.

A 13-page bibliography by Dr. C. B. M. Sillick completes the book. One would have expected to see Warner's *Reference Library Methods* included. *Library Literature, 1912-1932*, is mentioned under two heads only: as this compilation covers all the various groups in the list it would have been better to have placed it, together with the supplementary volumes to 1937, either at the beginning or the end of the bibliography. The entries have not been checked very carefully, for information contained in them varies: dates are omitted from some, publishers' names from others, different forms are used for one publisher, and no consistency has been used in the order in which the various bibliographical items are given.

L. H.

Journal of the New Zealand Institute of Public Administration. December, 1938.

THE second issue of the New Zealand JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION well maintains the high standard set by the first issue, and justifies the expectation that the journal will be a valuable permanent feature of the administrative life of the Dominion. If it continues on the present level it will command interest and attention among all who are concerned with the serious study of public administration, the more so because of the pages devoted to the description and critical examination of aspects of administration which have developed special characteristics in their New Zealand setting.

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An example of a Dominion development with this special interest is found in the article by T. W. M. Ashby on "Local Authorities and Trade Unionism," which describes the effect on local bodies of the coming into operation of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, 1936, an Act embodying the principle of compulsory unionism.

The editor has not, however, confined himself to the internal affairs of New Zealand, and the journal contains four articles on the Public Services of other States—of New South Wales, by Professor F. A. Bland; of the Australian Commonwealth, by R. S. Parker; of Canada, by C. H. Bland; and of France, by A. Pouquet. The last-named is a particularly interesting and informative paper by the French Consul-General at Wellington. It supplements in several important directions the address given in London on the same subject by M. Roché, which was printed in *PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION* in January, 1938, and, like that address, gives a really illuminating account of the French Civil Service.

Several articles, and most of the editorial paragraphs, are devoted to personnel questions—two of the articles being useful practical contributions on Staff Control—and it is interesting to see that the subject of education in and for administration is receiving such close attention in New Zealand, where a serious effort is apparently being made to bring to the service of public administration the higher and broader type of education provided by universities. There are indications that in its approach to this matter and to service questions generally, New Zealand is exhibiting a spirit of robust independence and is not prepared simply to copy either English or American methods. Mention is made of the appointment by the Minister of Education of a strong official committee to investigate the whole subject of university training in relation to the Public Service.

Further articles are on "Government and Economic Planning," by D. W. Woodward; "County Government in Canterbury," by L. C. Webb; "Samoan Administration," by A. McCarthy; and "Earthquake and Emergency Organisation," by E. F. Scott.

A. J. W.

Journal of the Institute of Public Administration, New South Wales Regional Group.
September and December, 1938.

THE New South Wales Regional Group is continuing its plan of publishing selected papers read before the Group; and the four papers published in the present two issues of the group-journal are all of great interest and well worthy of the steps taken to give them a wider circulation. In "Administrative Planning," Sir Herbert Gepp describes the recent developments in the Federal administration of the United States, and goes on to outline the place and function in a modern State of a National Economic Council. In "Some Aspects of Economy and Efficiency in the Public Service" Mr. W. A. McLaren appeals for the institution of a small corps of efficiency experts, to be selected and trained by the Public Service Board and then placed in the departments, where "although technically officers of the departments devoting the whole of their time to those departments, they would maintain a close liaison with the Board. They would have no responsibility or authority in respect to the actual performance of work, their duties being exclusively of a research, consultative and advisory character."

"Whither Transport," by Mr. W. R. Ritchie, is the essay which was awarded first prize in the Sir George Murray Competition conducted by the South Australian Regional Group of the Institute and open to public servants throughout Australia. Mr. Ritchie's paper deals ably and comprehensively with the problem

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of co-ordinating rail and road transport in the States and the Commonwealth.

In "Municipal Trading" Alderman A. Mainerd examines the principles on which municipal and private trading respectively are conducted, explores the question of the fields proper to each, and makes interesting suggestions for further public control of private enterprise for the benefit both of itself and the community.

A. J. W.

Revue Internationale des Sciences Administratives. II Année, No. 4, October, November and December, 1938.

In these days when the cry is that there is too much power in the hands of the central government it is not uninteresting to find a new distinction drawn between central and local authority. Already we are familiar with centralisation and decentralisation and the implications of these systems; now we have concentration and deconcentration in an article by M. T. Heyse, Inspector-General to the Belgian Colonial Office on the Belgian Congo. He admits that the distinction is subtle enough, but he claims that it is real and that so far as colonial affairs are concerned it rests in the nature of the acts involved. There is deconcentration if acts of authority or of government such as the exercise of justice are controlled locally; decentralisation on the other hand applies only where there is a delegation of functions such as the enforcement of laws made by the central authority. The creation of this distinction opens up the whole question of whether the administrative and the judicial functions are not in fact different aspects of the administrative as distinct from the creative function. It would have been better perhaps if M. Heyse could have kept his vocabulary within the limits of centralisation and decentralisation, but apart from this the article is useful as showing what should be the aim of every democratic community in developing its colonies, namely the granting of that degree of autonomy which that colony is capable of enjoying to the best advantage.

There is in this issue also an article by M. Louis Camu on the steps taken by the Belgian Government to co-ordinate economic action and an article by Sir Henry Bunbury, which is a French version of an article which appeared in the October Journal on problems of government planning machinery.

The first replies to an inquiry into the activities of National Institutions for administrative research are published. It is to be hoped that when all the replies have been received a complete guide will be available to national institutions of this kind for easy reference.

In the section devoted to the affairs of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences details are given of an Administrative Sciences Prize for the best treatise on "Le rôle éducatif des administrations," of which the strict translation is "The Educative Role of the Civil Service," but which might possibly be translated as "The Place of Publicity in Public Administration." The prize is 15,000 Belgian francs or more according to the financial position of the Institute. Any reader who may be interested should consult pages 689-693 of the *Revue* for further details.

A. W. P.

The Yenching Journal of Social Studies. Vol. 1, No. 2, January, 1939. Pp. 358. (Yenching University, Peking, China.) \$1.25 U.S.

THIS issue is as interesting as its predecessor. But in the first issue, the editor, Mr. An-Che Li, stated that the aim of the promoters was to popularise field research in Chinese social studies as opposed to the traditional library research and general abstractness which presently dominates this sphere of activity. This excellent objective has almost been lost sight of in the current issue, which is very abstract and academic indeed.

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This is mainly due to the fact that more than half of the journal is occupied by a translation of what is undoubtedly a very scholarly paper entitled "A Chinese Philosopher's Theory of Knowledge." The author, Professor Chang Tung-Sun, states explicitly that he is writing as a philosopher, that "The point of view expounded here arises from the findings of the history of philosophy. It is for the social scientist to revise or modify this contribution if necessary." The latter sentence is an indication of the extremely academic approach of the writer and, as has been stated, contrasts sharply with the original emphasis on field research.

One might question the writer's interpretation of Marxism. For example, is a class theory of knowledge necessarily not a sociological theory of knowledge? Might not the Professor's own theory be described as a class theory of knowledge? Is it true to say that Marx postulated that the influence of social relations upon thought can adequately be accounted for *merely* in terms of economic interests? If the Professor had substituted "mainly" for "merely" he would have been more in accordance with Marx's interpretation of history.

Later the writer naively asserts, "Without criticising the fallacy implied in Marxism it may be profitably observed that the Marxian philosophy is political in nature." The fallacy is not exposed, but are we to assume that a philosophy which is political in nature is thereby invalid? If this is the case, then the Professor has casually discredited most, if not all, of those thinkers whom we have been taught to regard with respect and awe. Nevertheless, even deliberate political philosophers are not slightly to be ignored in any realistic approach to the study of thought in general. A compatriot of Chu-Teh and Mao-Tse-Tung, who are not unsuccessfully moulding Chinese thought and history, might, one would have thought, have been dubious about the validity of considering thought in a vacuum.

What is really valuable in the article, and would have remained so without the excursions into politics and theories of thought in general, is the comparison of Chinese and Western thinking processes and the different forms of language to which they give rise.

Mr. M. F. M. Lindsay writes on "Consumers' Preference and Planning." In his examination of the subject he denies that willingness to pay adequately expresses wants, unless the distribution of incomes is such as to give the right weighting to the wants of the members of the community, which, generally, is not the case. His remarks on the subject might well be incorporated in those textbooks which are content to define effective and ineffective demands and leave it at that.

There are also articles on the agricultural reformer, soldier and politician, Tso-Tsung-Kang, Marcel Granet and his work, and a Bibliography of the Jews in China and book reviews.

J. S. C.

The Economic Record: The Journal of the Economic Society of Australia and New Zealand. Vol. XIV, No. 26. June, 1938.

THE Commonwealth Court of Conciliation and Arbitration is the subject of two of the five main papers in this issue of the *Economic Record*. The first of these, by Mr. Norman Cowper, takes as its subject Foenander's *Towards Industrial Peace in Australia*, though it is by no means a review of the book, and deals with the broad question of compulsory arbitration in industrial matters with particular reference to the experience of Australia. Mr. Cowper is too obviously partisan to be convincing, but he makes one or two points in favour of the Australian system which are worth consideration: what he does not consider is the effect of Australian nominal—as opposed to real—wages on the tariff level, the cost of living, and the ability of Australia to export manufactured goods when she reaches

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that stage of development. While he admits that real wages, under our system of free bargaining, have risen to a greater degree in Great Britain than have Australian wages under the compulsory arbitration system, he contends that the mass of the workers, especially those in weaker unions and in sweated trades, have benefited enormously. He concludes that the arbitration system has levelled, far more than raised, wage standards. He makes the further telling point that the drastic wage reductions, which were brought about by the Courts at the time of the slump, had made possible other measures, such as inflation, increased taxation, and reductions of interest rates, and had thus brought about a restoration of prosperity much earlier than could have been expected. While there may be controversy as to the relative importance of the various measures contributing to recovery, there can be little doubt that the wage adjustment played no small part in their success. The main argument against compulsory arbitration, that the existence of the Arbitration Court robs negotiations between employers and workers of reality, so that their efforts are directed, not towards reaching a reasonable and just settlement, but towards manœuvring for a favourable position when the case goes to arbitration, is not mentioned.

The other article on the Court, by Mr. G. Anderson, deals with the history of the basic wage as applied by the Federal Court and by the various State Courts from the time when the idea was introduced, almost, it seems, accidentally, by a provision in the Excise Tariff Act, 1906, which exempted from certain taxes goods manufactured under wage conditions declared to be "fair and reasonable" by the President of the Federal Arbitration Court. Hence first arose the necessity of determining a basic wage rate.

Mr. E. E. Ward, by the examination of a representative sample of the unemployed in Victoria, makes an attempt to reach tentative conclusions which are impossible to reach accurately because of the lack of official information about age and occupational distribution, duration of unemployment, or the quality of the unemployed. His most important conclusions are, first, that there is urgent need of a system of Labour Exchanges to put employers and employed in touch with one another; second, that some modification of arbitration award rates of wages should be made to assist in securing employment for men who, on re-employment, would not immediately be fully efficient; and, third, that fuller unemployment statistics should be compiled and published.

The first part of a paper on "The Theory of Interest," by Mr. L. G. Melville, to be concluded in the December issue, is based upon Keynes's *Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. "British Migration to Australia" is the subject of a short and very interesting paper by Mr. W. D. Forsyth. He examines shortly the population trends in Australia and in Great Britain and, in the light of the trend in Britain and also of the surprisingly accurate knowledge possessed by working-class people in this country of conditions in the Dominions, he concludes that Australia cannot expect to receive British immigrants in large numbers. He adds, "The moral obliquity of exploiting the spirit of adventure or neediness of British youths and girls, inducing them to perform work under conditions our own young people, better informed, wisely reject, cannot be too plainly pointed out."

There are the usual reviews and notes, including one on recent trade policy in New Zealand, which is particularly interesting in the light of subsequent events.

J. K.

The Economic Record. Vol. XIV, No. 27. December, 1938.

PARTICULARLY interesting at this juncture is a paper in the December issue by Mr. L. W. Holt on "State Finance in the Post-Depression Period in New Zealand," obviously written before the introduction of the Import Licensing Scheme by the

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New Zealand Government. Mr. Holt is extremely careful not to overdraw the picture, as witness one of his concluding sentences: "Even with its present high national income New Zealand appears to be living *a little* beyond its means. . . ." (The italics are ours.) The facts he brings out are, therefore, the more impressive. In the period 1932-1935 about £7 million per annum, or 30 per cent. of budget expenditure, went to social services, while the estimates for 1938-39 provide for £12.75 millions, or 36 per cent. of the anticipated expenditure. (It should be remembered that the population of New Zealand is one and a quarter million, and the anticipated budget receipts for 1938-39 £35.8 million, as against £26 million in 1934-35.) In addition, there has been large expenditure on public works for the relief of unemployment (£17 million in 1937-38). Mr. Holt gives a short history of the Reserve Bank, which opened for business on August 1st, 1934, and took over some £N.Z.24 millions of London funds and which, even at the time when the paper was written, had almost exhausted its overseas funds. He then goes on to comment on the further drain which will be placed on State finance by the new Social Security Act which requires approximately £11 million more in the first year. His cautious comment is that it may be true that the country can bear the additional burden, but the collection and redistribution of such a large proportion of the national income must cause considerable financial readjustment and much anxiety. Mr. Holt remarks that recent years have been characterised by marked prosperity due to the high prices of New Zealand's exports, and he scarcely disguises his anxiety for the future.

Two notes and a reply deal with Clark & Crawford's *The National Income of Australia*, in which the methods used to compute unrecorded income are somewhat different from those used by J. T. Sutcliffe in 1926. Mr. J. Williams contributes a paper on the "Co-ordination of Road and Rail Transport in New Zealand," which indicates that, though other people's difficulties may be different in detail from our own, they bear more than a remote resemblance to them in substance. Mr. Melville's article on the "Theory of Interest" is completed in this number; Mr. J. A. Maxwell returns to the ever-interesting questions raised by the Commonwealth Grants Commission; and Mr. G. L. Wood writes on the "Use and Abuse of the Good Earth." Lastly, there is a paper by Mr. A. Lodewyckx, of the University of Melbourne, on "The Population Policy of National Socialist Germany." In 1933 births in Germany (including the Saar, but not Austria nor any part of Czechoslovakia) were 971,000, and in 1937 1,276,000, a truly remarkable result of Nazi measures of subsidy and propaganda. The results of this increase—if it is maintained—upon the future course of population in Germany is worked out, but the incorporation of Austria and Czechoslovakia introduce a new complication, the effect of which is more difficult to estimate.

There are the usual notes and reviews.

J. K.

Institute Notes and News

Winter Conference, 1939

The subject of discussion at the Winter Conference, held in London on February 11th and 12th, was "The Public's Part in Administration." The intention was to concentrate discussion, not on the general question of relations between public authorities and the public, but on the handling of specific matters like the drafting of forms, the relative merits of different kinds of announcements, and other devices for getting the public to do the right thing in the right way and at the right time.

Mr. C. G. Browne, publicity manager to the Brighton Corporation, read a paper in which he said that, despite the wide range of local government activity, the average ratepayer was either apathetic or hostile. The problem was to educate him to "mind his own business." The policy of Government departments of cultivating public relations and appointing officers for this duty might well be developed in local government. Among the instruments for improving relations with the public Mr. Browne put the Press first, broadcasting and films being evanescent in comparison. Civic exhibitions were a potent factor, but they should be independent and not part of a commercial show.

Similar emphasis on the importance of the Press was laid by Mr. Alec Spoor, public relations officer of the National Association of Local Government Officers. In the initiation and launching of any important municipal scheme the Press should be kept as fully informed as possible. Methods of contact with the ratepayers needed, he thought, to be overhauled, and the keynote should be one of "request" rather than of demand.

Speaking for central government offices, Mr. A. G. Highet, publicity controller of the G.P.O., emphasised the technique of interesting the public and winning its support for governmental activities. The aim is to get the public to reason with the publiciser, and in doing this personal contact is of the highest importance. He instanced the methods adopted by the Lancashire police in reducing road accidents by personal advice, admonition and instruction rather than punishment, and the success of London Transport in such matters as training crowds in the queue habit.

The discussion brought out a number of personal experiences on the part of the members of the Institute, as well as a welcome emphasis on the fundamental importance of ensuring that all publicity should be strictly accurate. The Chairman of the Conference, Mr. E. H. Wood, of the Board of Education, drew a distinction between partisan political propaganda and official publicity, and made an appeal for austerity and scrupulous accuracy in official public relations. Another essential of good public relations referred to in the debate was the need for directness and simplicity in all written statements.

Summer Conference, 1939

The Summer Conference this year will be held from July 7th to 11th at University College, Oxford. The subjects selected for discussion are (1) Inspectorates as a link between central and local authorities and (2) Municipal trading. Further details will be published as soon as they are available.

Lord Stamp on the Institute

Speaking at a dinner of the Kent County Officers' Guild on February 6th, Lord Stamp, President of the Institute, urged senior members of N.A.L.G.O. to study the Institute's activities and publications carefully, for they provided a

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broad intellectual and scientific background for their work which would help to correct the specialisation arising from modern conditions of work. The local government official was in close touch with the public and could afford even less than the central civil servant to be a theorist. He must feed the central government with the fruits of his actual experience and draw attention to any failure of theory to fit in with practice.

Sir John Anderson's Address on Indian Administration

The India Office has asked for, and been given, permission to reprint as a pamphlet Sir John Anderson's address given to the Institute last October on "Administration in India." The pamphlet is to be made available to prospective candidates for the Indian services.

Victorian Regional Group

Mr. G. Lightfoot, Fellow of the Institute and Secretary of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, read a paper to the Victorian Regional Group on a scheme for setting up a National Standards Laboratory near to the University of Sydney, under the auspices of the Commonwealth Government. The laboratory will be concerned with the testing and standardisation of scientific instruments and the carrying out of scientific investigations connected with the standardisation of apparatus, instruments, and machinery used in industry.

Liverpool Regional Group

An address was given to the group on February 17th by Dr. H. W. Singer, of Manchester University, on "Men Without Work." Dr. Singer referred to some of the more subtle effects of unemployment in preventing the children of the unemployed from making those natural contacts with their fellows which lead to social happiness and the prospect of future employment and social adjustment. He drew a distinction between the lot of the skilled men in depressed areas and the unskilled in prosperous areas; the two groups of unemployed needed different methods of handling, for to the skilled man work was more than a means to earning a wage: it was a way of life, and the psychological results of unemployment in these sections of society were even more serious than among the unskilled, producing, as they did, a sense of degradation and subordination.

Birmingham Regional Group

The Group on February 15th heard a lecture on "Planning" by Mr. W. Henderson Pringle, Principal of the Birmingham Commercial College. Mr. Pringle said that ten years ago we were all idealists with a narrow British outlook, but that to-day the theory of planning was accepted on all hands. The universal recognition that the times were out of joint led to a belief in the efficacy of a rational scheme for improving them. In formulating plans it was essential to realise clearly the objective before us. Orderly advance was particularly difficult in local government because of the haphazard nature of areas and authorities, and some rationalisation was an urgent necessity. Speaking on the economic aspects of planning, Mr. Pringle urged that public authorities should make more use of economic and financial experts.

Southern Rhodesia Regional Group

The Commission appointed by the Governor to inquire into staff questions in the public services (referred to in these notes for January, 1939) has now issued its report, a comprehensive document of over 70 foolscap pages. The Commission recommends the adoption of a system of annual reports for promotion purposes, the acceptance of the principle of staff representation on promotion committees, and the opening of senior administrative posts to technical and professional officers. The Commission acknowledges the valuable services rendered in the course of the inquiry by Mr. H. Holden, the Secretary; Mr. Holden is Chairman of the Group, and he placed before the Commission documents issued by the Institute on the subjects under investigation.

